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# THE Pending & Conflict.

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BY  
LEONARD BROWN.

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"TWO THOUSAND CAPITALISTS OWN MORE THAN ALL THE REST OF THE SIXTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF OUR POPULATION. TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND RICH MEN CONTROL SEVENTY-FIVE PER CENT OF THE NATIONAL WEALTH. THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC IS THEREFORE PRACTICALLY OWNED BY LESS THAN ONE QUARTER OF A MILLION OF PERSONS. IF PRESENT CAUSES WHICH PRODUCE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL CONTINUE, THE REPUBLIC WILL SOON BE OWNED BY LESS THAN FIFTY THOUSAND MEN."—*Rev. Joseph Cook*, IN TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, FEBRUARY 3, 1890.

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PRICE 50 CENTS PER COPY.



A PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION, THE RIGHTS OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD,  
PEACE AND PROGRESS, PATRIOTISM AND PHILANTHROPY,  
HOME AND COUNTRY.

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THE  
Pending Conflict

Between the Masses and the Classes.

A PROTEST AGAINST GREED, INHUMANITY, TYRANNY AND WAR.

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BY  
LEONARD BROWN.

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"And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof."—*Leviticus 25: 10.*

"Overcome evil with good. \* \* Put up thy sword into the sheath.  
\* \* Let him that is without sin cast the first stone at her."—*Jesus.*

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JOURNAL COMPANY, PRINTERS, 513 MULBERRY ST.  
1890.



## COMMENDATORY.

MR. LEONARD BROWN:

DES MOINES, 29th April, 1889.

*Dear Sir*—Your book, some parts of which you have read to me, is written with much spirit, and shows a pure zeal for human welfare, and a living interest in the great army of working people. You seem to have caught a clear view of the pending conflict between the monopolist and the wage-worker.

If your theory of co-operation could be even partially carried out, we would see a great change for the better in the condition of the workers. While I could not adopt all your statements I heartily endorse your principles. Truly yours,  
S. S. HUNTING.

You have certainly put a large amount of labor into this volume. It reveals a progressive and a patriotic spirit.

REV. S. J. BARROWS,  
Editor Christian Register, Boston, Mass.

## NOTE TO THE READER.

This pamphlet, written in advocacy of co-operation, and protesting against the manifest tendency of our government to despotism—a note of warning, if not the beat of the long roll at the opening of a most desperate conflict—the final struggle for the emancipation of labor, the establishment of equal rights, privileges and franchises for all men and all women—was produced by co-operative effort. It is part of a much larger volume, entitled “Our Own Columbia,” which is designed to be published during the year 1892—the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. This cheap volume is presented to the public in advance of the more costly work, which will comprise not less than 800 pages, handsomely printed on good paper and bound in cloth, sold by subscription C. O. D. \$2.50 to any one ordering a copy from the author.

This modest work is a *voyage of discovery*—a searching for a new world—the Eldorado of the toilers. Reader, examine it carefully, thoughtfully. Few will realize what it has cost of persevering endeavor. Will the reader write the author his opinion of the reforms herein advocated? The men of Iowa who have been fellow navigators with me—my co-operative helpers in this voyage—are Thomas Mitchell, Bruce E. Jones, Charles S. Vorse, Al. Grefe, Simon Casady and William A. Park. My sincere gratitude is due also to James S. Clarkson, G. B. Pray, L. S. Coffin, J. G. Berryhill, R. T. Wellslager, William Christy, C. L. Dahlberg, Nathan Andrews, Resin Wilkins, N. J. Harris, Isaac Brandt, N. R. Kuntz, W. H. Steadman, and Wm. Schuetz, Jr., for material help. Of the many others who have “lent a hand” grateful mention will be made in the larger work.

I will, upon invitation of labor organizations, political clubs, or literary societies, fill appointments to lecture in any part of the United States, on Co-operation, including the question of free lands, free tools, and free money, or upon the protection of American industry, or the abolishment of the saloons. Address,  
LEONARD BROWN, POLK CITY, IOWA.

## DEDICATION OF “OUR OWN COLUMBIA.”

HON. THOMAS MITCHELL—

MY DEAR FRIEND: I dedicate this earnest plea for Christian Liberty and Equality to the memory of your two noble sons,

ORRIN FISKE MITCHELL and WALTER AINSWORTH MITCHELL,

As a faint recognition of their great worth and a slight token of my lasting gratitude to you and yours.

DES MOINES, IOWA, April 30, 1889.

LEONARD BROWN.

## THE PREFACE OF "OUR OWN COLUMBIA."

Reader! Nine hundred million dollars are reported squandered and one hundred thousand men murdered in the service of king alcohol yearly in our country—while the misery and squalid poverty produced by this detestable tyrant are incalculable. The first great reform that must be accomplished before labor can be emancipated is the *destruction of the saloon*. To this end let every toiler work and vote, speak and write, strive and pray.

But each should specially seek for himself *personal temperance*. Each should "rule his own soul." Whoever takes even *one drink* for the sake of the beverage is morally a drunkard, as he who steals a pin is a thief. "Touch not, taste not, handle not," should be our motto. There is no safety except in tetotalism. If I boastingly say that "I can drink and I can let it alone;" had I ten sons, at least nine of the ten will follow my example of the drinking, no doubt, but will *ONE LET IT ALONE?* To build up a happy home is the first great object of life. No drinking man can do this.

Reference in these pages to temperance, to religion and to politics, is made in the interest of no sect or party, nor to antagonize any, but wholly in furtherance of that morality, philanthropy and patriotism, common to catholic christianity, and in vindication of the inalienable rights of man. The whole is meant to be but an amplification of the ideas embodied in the Sermon of Jesus on the Mount, and in the Declaration of American Independence; hence, this book presents no novel or heretical doctrines, either religious or political; but only truths that all christian philanthropists and American patriots are presumed to believe.

The enemy of freedom, therefore, I protest, attacks the citadel of christian truth when he raises his voice against the social reforms herein advocated. I invite him to show incongruity between the teachings of the New Testament, or of the ancient or modern church, and the application of those teachings to the amelioration of the condition of the poor and oppressed, as herein pointed out. I shall continue to insist upon his meeting me in this discussion on Bible grounds. American liberty sprang from the Bible. It is an outgrowth of christianity. It is christianity itself: crystalized in law and institution. That crystalization must go on until the Sermon of Jesus on the Mount has become the fundamental Constitution of the United States of the World and wars shall be no more.

The paramount question to-day is the labor problem. The wage system has been tried and is found wanting. How may it be peacefully abolished? I offer a few thoughts on the issue; but with no egotistical flourish of trumpets. I do not cry "Eureka!"—but I do speak sincerely the best word I am qualified to say, guided ever by the light of the New Testament. Let every truth-loving man and woman go and do likewise, and the outcome will be satisfactory. Wage slavery will be peacefully abolished and co-operative industry will take its place.

When the great majority favor any reform, that reform will most assuredly be brought about, sooner or later. When John Brown, of Osawatomie, was hung at Harper's Ferry, chattel slavery was already dead. The tide of civilization had risen so high as to drown it, and it only awaited burial. But the failure of Southern statesmen to perceive this truth led to immeasurable loss and suffering to the people South and North. All institutions shape themselves to correspond with the advanced line of civilization—with the growth of ideas. Wage slavery is manifestly as dead now as was chattel slavery in 1860. The second emancipation of slaves follows the first as certainly as sunrise follows the dawn.

The finance question is viewed by me from the American stand-point and not from the British, as is unhappily done by most teachers of political economy in our colleges, who are still misguided by British text books. Away with all British text books of political economy from our schools. The British system of so-called political science is based upon the idea of inequality of rights—enriching the few at the expense of the many: the American system upon the idea of equality of rights—retaining in the hands of the many the wealth produced by them. The finance system that builds up and perpetuates an aristocracy of wealth, should be discarded by us, as out of harmony with our institutions and government. The doctrine that gold alone should be recognized as money, if adopted as the law of our country, would overthrow our democratic government and reduce the American people to a condition of slavery equally oppressive with that imposed by Great Britain, through force of arms, upon the people of India.

I have long looked anxiously forward to the time when I could make pilgrimage to our country's noted historic shrines to write my long contemplated national poem, "America." I would pitch my tent near Plymouth Rock and at Valley Forge, and I would visit all the battle-fields of the Revolution, seeking inspiration on the grounds where the sacrifices were made by our fathers for our liberty. But I have now reached the threshold of the fifty-third year of my life and I may not live to realize this my long cherished hope. But our country will not lack patriotic poets better qualified to do justice to the great theme than I to themes less ambitious. The most magnificent country on earth will produce sublime poets to sing her greatness. My mission is to go before; as an humble pioneer of American song in the trans-Mississippi valley, to prepare the way for the approach of the grand army of truly democratic poets; and the little measure of success won by me, in these early and unpropitious times, will, I trust, afford no little encouragement to those who shall follow after, in a later and more auspicious day.

But the primary object I have in view is not, I trust, self—is not to vindicate my claim to recognition as a great writer. My desire is to do an humble part in the mighty work that cannot be stayed, for the improvement of the social condition of mankind. I would make it good for children to be born, by making it the supreme object of legislation to bless the little ones. No great revolution is needed to perfect our social state, only the carrying out in good faith the doctrine of equality, voiced in the Declaration of American Independence, by the inauguration of a few simple reforms founded on the Golden Rule.

A late number of the *New Review* (English) has, the following to say of the co-operative principle:

"The co-operative principle is distinct from the socialistic or anarch'al theories, yet it goes a long way. The advocate of equity to labor maintains labor to be the industrious man's capital, and that it should be respected like the rich man's capital, and rewarded like it. Until this is done there will always be 'poor in the land,' dwelling in unhealthy lodgings and perishing of overwork, privation and disease, in the midst of their days. How can the priest in his temple give God honest thanks 'for all his mercies to the children of men' when he knows they are dying of poverty and squalor within a few yards of his altar. How can a gentleman sit down without remorse, in the splendor of his home, while those that make the wealth lead cheerless lives and the curses of the hopeless are heard in the air? Co-operation proposes to make the world fit for gentlemen to live in it. It is not so now. But it will be so when every man has an equal opportunity of competence according to his condition, and not till then."

# DIVISION THE FIRST.

## OUT OF BONDAGE.

"There will dawn ere long on our politics, on our modes of living, a nobler morning in the sentiment of love. Our age and history of these thousand years has not been the history of kindness, but of selfishness. Our distrust is very expensive. The money spent for courts and prisons is ill-laid out. We make by distrust the thief, the burglar, and incendiary, and by our courts and jails we keep him so. An acceptance of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season, would bring the felon and outcast, to our side in tears and the devotion of his faculties to our service. Let our affection flow out to our fellows; it would operate in a day the greatest of all revolutions. The state must consider the poor man and all voices must speak for him. Every child born must have a just chance (with work) for his bread."

EMERSON.

## ESSAY I.—THE QUESTION STATED.

### I. THE CONSTITUTION AS IT WAS.

On the 26th day of May, 1787, George Washington was elected president of the Convention of Delegates of the several states of the Union assembled in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation, "to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union." On the 16th day of September 17th, after the reading of the Constitution, as engrossed, was agreed to by all the states, and ordered engrossed. On the following day, September 17th, after the reading of the Constitution, as engrossed, the venerable Franklin rose, and, placing a written speech in the hands of Mr. Wilson, requested him to read it. Franklin said: "Mr. President, I confess there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure that I shall never approve them; for having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions, even on important subjects, which I once thought right but found to be otherwise. It is, therefore, that the older I grow the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such, because I think a general government necessary for us; and there is no form of government but may be a blessing to the people if well administered and I be-

lieve further, that this is likely to be well administered; for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall have become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching so near perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babel; and that our states are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats."

When the last members were signing their names to the immortal instrument, Dr. Franklin looking toward the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that "painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. I have", said he, "often and often in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its

issue, looked at that behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.”\*

George Washington was inaugurated the first president of the United States April 30, 1789. That was the day, then, on which the new Constitution went into effect. In his inaugural address the first president said:

“No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage.”

One hundred years have now gone by since President Washington made these pious remarks and indulged these hopeful anticipations. It is well for us to examine, with the same patriotic heart-throbs as those that beat in the bosoms of Franklin and Washington, the real situation of public affairs to-day. Have we reached, we may appropriately ask, that period when the government has ceased to be well-administered, and when despotism is about to step in and supersede it?

It would not be patriotic to attempt to cover up and conceal the truth. Great corporations have grown up within the government that overshadow it as the loftiest peaks of the Rocky Mountains overshadow the lowest knobs—the combined incomes of the railroad corporations of the United States exceeding the combined incomes of the federal and all the forty-two state governments, to say nothing about the incomes of the three thousand national banks and of the thousands of insurance corporations, oil syndicates, telegraph companies, etc., etc. But all these unite against the people to control the government, national and state, for their own selfish ends. The question to be answered is, can the people by means of the ballot control government, and by legislation hold the interests of corporations subordinate to the common welfare? or must the common welfare be set at naught to build up millionaire barons?

To maintain unimpaired the good bestowed upon us by the authors of our

\*Madison Papers.

liberty, the creators of the Federal Constitution, is our first, most important, most essential duty. This good is being filched from us by the influence exercised over the three departments of government, legislative, judicial and executive, by the powerful interests represented by gigantic corporations, the creations of law, that should be its obedient creatures; but they assume to be above their creator and the masters of the people. Tremendous progress has been made by them toward the utter destruction of the great Temp'le of Liberty founded on the Constitution. It is being mined. Batteries have been planted that threaten its demolition. These must be stormed and taken and the guns spiked.

From certain classes of foreigners domiciled among us, unacquainted with American ideas and prejudiced against American institutions, we have also much to fear. They are slow to believe that, as far as institution can go, the “perfect commonwealth” is already realized in the United States, if only the American people enact those subordinate measures of legislation that they have the constitutional right to enact, for the building up of co-operative production and distribution of products, rendered imperative by the progress of society. The fundamental law is not responsible for the curse of class legislation that afflicts us now. The people only are responsible. Why do the masses not dictate all our laws? There is no reason why they do not, except that they *do not take hold*. Nothing can be done with folded arms. If the Constitution has become a “dead letter” it is because of the indifference of the masses. Are they too ignorant to govern themselves? Then is our condition hopeless until there has been an advance made in popular enlightenment.

The American Constitution is ample now without further “amendments” (which may, however, be added when necessary) to assure us a harmonious and happy social condition, equal to that anticipated for the Twentieth Century Commonwealth of Edward Bellamy, if “to the people, by the people, for the people” be extended the benefits of legislation now monopolized by the “corporation kings.” The many, regaining possession and control of the helm of the Old Ship of State, will direct her course toward the ancient haven of “the greatest good to the greatest number.” That supreme good is the ripened fruit of the Tree of Liberty planted by our Puritan forefathers.

## II. WILLIE AND TOMMY O'NEAL.

Leaving the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, on a frosty Monday morning of October, 1888, for the Northwestern depot, a little nine year old boy ran up

to me and asked if he might carry my grip. He had not carried it far when I saw that he could hardly get along with it, though the weight of the satchel was not great, so I took hold to help him. He said he felt unusually weak that morning, for he had been up all the night before, (he declared) without supper or sleep, walking the unfriendly streets of that great city to keep warm. "Why did you have to do so?" I asked. "Oh because," said he, "I had not fifteen cents in my pocket to pay for my supper and lodging last night at the News Boy's Home."

My eyes filled with tears, for the recollections were brought vividly to mind of my own and my little brother's childhood sufferings—left as we were by the death of our dear, loving mother to care for ourselves at a tender age, our kind father having all he could do to support the younger children. But though driven from pillar to post we were never so completely abandoned as was this little one. I said to him, "Buddy, this ought not be. You must, as soon as possible, get away from this mean town. If you will come to my cabin in Iowa I will take care of you. Either you may live with me (a poor man with a large family—twelve at table when we are 'all at home') or I will find you a better home; but I will be a father to you as far as I am able. I shall not, however, reach my home for several weeks to come or I would take you along with me right now." I gave him some money—all I could spare—for my purse was, as usual, light—to buy him a boot-black's outfit; for he said if he had this he thought he could get on quite well. I gave him my address also and received his promise to write to me. I then shook hands with him and kissed him good-bye.

Before I left him his little brother Tommy joined us—a boy of 11 or 12 years. The following letter reached my family several days in advance of my arrival at home:

CHICAGO, ILLS., Oct. 22, 1888.

LEONARD BROWN.—We are staying at the News Boy's Home; but we are going to start for Polk City Tuesday night, and we hope that we will have a good home with you. We are ever so much obliged to you for your kindness. We made good use of the money that you gave us and we hope that we will always be friends.

I am doing the best I can to make a living. I made a little money and bought an overcoat. We are very glad to make an honest living and to please you.

With all our hearts your dear friends,  
WILLIE O'NEAL,  
TOMMY O'NEAL.

The letter, as given above, is substantially as the little boys wrote it. But I have, of course, corrected the spelling.

It was evidently written by the little men themselves, and it is a manly letter indeed. The little boys did not, for some cause, put in appearance at my cabin; but if they do come they will be received as my own dear sons, for I have adopted them, and every other little homeless one in my heart of hearts; and I shall follow them with my love to the end of my life.

If God has given me a mission in this unfriendly world, it is to look after the welfare of little children. I, in my feeble way, would take them all in my arms and bless them, in imitation of the Divine Master, and as an act of Christian worship of God—the truest and highest I can conceive of. It is wrong for us to depend on God to answer prayers in behalf of the little ones that we can answer ourselves. The *doing* is both the prayer and the answer of it. Let us pray for the neglected ones by *act* rather than by hollow utterance of windy words.

### III. PEACE AND GOOD WILL.

It is only with feelings of extremest sadness that I make uncomplimentary reference to the Christian people of Chicago who have done much for the poor and friendless. It is a shame to them if even one little helpless, homeless child is left to wander the cold streets of the great city (that received the fraternal aid, in her hour of fiery trial, of a world not entirely unfeeling) shivering with cold on a Sunday night, without a kindly roof to shelter it from the frosts of October, or a crust of bread to eat, while a well-fed and well-clothed and well-paid clergy are delivering carefully written sermons from crimson covered pulpits to well dressed congregations, seated in velvet-cushioned pews, regaled with grandest music from costly organs within magnificent temples and beneath spires pointing to the skies. Oh, it is a shame! Would not Jesus himself, could his indignant voice be again heard denouncing "pharisees and hypocrites," forbid further contributions for the building of churches and the support of clergy until the little, helpless, homeless children have been all bountifully fed and comfortably housed and placed under the care of kindest teachers? The ministry of Jesus was a ministry of well-doing. He healed the physical infirmities of the suffering people, rich and poor, bestowed upon the little ones his blessing, and he bountifully fed the hungry multitudes. He built no temples of worship whatever, and he commanded none (as I have read) to be built. But the mountains and the plains were his temples, and the glorious firmament and starry vault of heaven was the dome of the cathedral in which he humbly worshiped his God—"Our Father in Heaven;" and he "went about doing

good"—for which cause "the common people heard him gladly"—as they would even to-day hear gladly the same true gospel should it again be preached. But it has, it does seem to me, become almost, if not quite obsolete, excepting as preached by the Catholic Sisters of Charity and Mercy and by a few philanthropists of his Divine Brotherhood and Sisterhood, inside of all sects, and outside of all sects—who, having caught the spirit of the Divine Master, fearlessly *do* the will of the Father—devoting their lives to the cause of the oppressed and suffering, uplifting the downtrodden and blessing the little children,—the Father Damiens, the Lovinia Benedicts, the Wendell Phillipses, the Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the Theodore Parkers, the Peter Coopers, and the Abby Mays of this century.

The first great object of my life, after the care of my own dependent household, is to see that no little one shall want. I would make it good for children to be born. This, then, is the end of my desires and labors in the cause of social and political reform. To this end I would preach everywhere, in season and out of season, the gospel of peace on earth and good will toward men. Beside this one superlative reform, all other reforms are of trivial importance. When once it is fixed that the little ones shall never want, then will the motive for selfishness be eliminated. Philanthropy will be enthroned. That natural love of children common to the human heart will embrace all, as it did in the mind of Jesus. That (as I see it) is the chief difference between a pagan and a christian; the pagan loves his children only, the christian loves all alike. Loving his neighbor as himself, he loves his neighbor's children as his own. And his love for the aged is that of the child for the parent. Bountiful provision will one day be made by the people for all the dependent poor. Christianity crystalized into law, the sermon of Jesus on the Mount having become the fundamental Constitution of all governments, its principles being embodied in the fundamental law of each, one flag will then float over all states—the flag of the UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD—the starry flag with a thousand stripes. Home rule for each state and a common congress for all, is the condition that confronts the world in the immediate future.

#### IV. THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

I would then rejoice to see Great Britain, the United States of America, and all other nations, united under one flag—the flag of the United States of the World—wars forever brought to an end, and all disputes between the various independent commonwealths referred

for settlement to a world's congress. This will at once be realized as soon as the people universally rule. Then will the billions of money now spent in the support of armies, and the muscular power of man wasted in idle military camps and barracks, be dedicated to subduing the deserts and rendering all the waste places fertile. I believe that every acre of the desert lands of Africa, Asia, Australia and America may be made productive by means of artesian wells and machinery, and that the world can be made to support in plenty and happiness a population a million times more numerous than at present inhabits the earth.

This idea of a United World is not impracticable; for upon the American Continent we behold united under one flag forty-two independent republics, covering an area nearly, if not quite, as large as all Europe. Why is this happy condition of things realized here? Because we have abandoned many of the pernicious political maxims of mother England. Malthusism is the controlling principle of her polity. Blanqui in his History of Political Economy, refers to that terrible doctrine in the following words, viz:

"Malthus pronounced this sentence on the unfortunates, in cruel terms: 'A man, who is born into a world already full, if his family have no means to support him, or if society has no need of his labor, has not the least right to claim any portion of food whatever, and he is really redundant on the earth. At the great banquet of nature there is no plate for him. Nature commands him to go away, and she delays not to put that order into execution.'"

This is a cold-blooded justification of barbarism. This is the doctrine that aristocratic England revels in and acts upon—a doctrine that neutralizes every principle of Christianity, every impulse of philanthropy—justifying war and the barbarous principle that "might makes right," and she enforces it against her own subjects and against all nations. "This world is the property of the few," she says to the people of Ireland, India and Africa, and to her own stalwart workers on the island of Britain, and the many must be offered a sacrifice upon the altars of Moloch and Mammon; and no pitying tears shall be shed. This is the Pagan idea that our fathers resisted with arms in 1776, antagonizing it with the Christian idea that "all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness." Upon this divine idea the American Union rests as upon a granite rock, and upon this rock will be founded the Greater Republic—the UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

## V. MOB VIOLENCE AND ORGANIZED TYRANNY.

Mankind have never suffered from "mob violence" (so called) as they have constantly suffered from organized tyranny of governments. Of mob violence we need have little fear; of organized tyranny, much. No ship loads of emigrants have ever fled to the shores and wilds of America from the danger of mobs; but always from the tyranny of coercive laws enacted by well organized governments. So the German anarchists are surely right in their one pious wish to put down coercive laws everywhere. This is what they mean, I think, when they say they are "opposed to laws," they mean that they are opposed to *coercion*. But, says one, "all laws rest on the principle of coercion. This is what *penalty means always*." The laws of Moses, I grant, rested on the principle of coercion, but the law of Christ rests on that of "*overcoming evil with good*," an entirely different and contrary principle that as yet has met little acceptance. It will be put in practice universally when mankind have become their own rulers. A reform school is not a *penal* institution. It overcomes evil with good. "Penalty," Noah Webster says, "*is the suffering in person or property which is annexed by law or judicial decision to the commission of a crime, offense or trespass, as a punishment*. A fine is a pecuniary penalty. The usual penalties inflicted on the person are *whipping, cropping, branding, imprisonment, hard labor, transportation or death*."

And it was what Jefferson meant, no doubt, when he said, "The less of government the better, if society be kept at peace." This is a glorious idea; and it will never do for us to lose sight of it in our fear of "mobs" and anarchist riots and bombs—an insane scare, gotten up by the cunning enemy of the people, the plotters for a "stronger government," a military despotism for America, who are determined not to "deal justly and love mercy," in relation to the toilers, but to coerce them into downright serfs and slaves, and to this end they manipulate government and are, through its instrumentality, building up quietly, "so as not to arouse opposition" (they say) a standing army of "State Regulars" under the false plea of "organizing the militia." An attempt no doubt will be again made by them soon to lobby through the lower house of congress, the revolutionary bill to "nationalize the militia" that, several months ago, through the influence of combined wealth, passed the national senate—a more dangerous move of "overweening cupidity and selfishness," it seems to me, than anything the crazy Anarchists, on our shores, have ever attempted, proposed or even dreamed

of in their wildest hallucinations. A profound truth President Cleveland uttered when he said in his last annual message to congress: "The communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, which insidiously undermines the justice and integrity of free institutions, is not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorders the citadel of rule." Then, let the workers not dream of peace when there is no peace. A Hydra is now coiled above their heads around the trunk and branches of the Tree of Liberty, and it is reaching down its many mouths to snatch them up and destroy them, as were the companions of Ulysses snatched up and devoured by the many-headed monster in the straits of Scylla and Charybdis. That Hydra is the so-called "National Guard" of the several states of the American Union. Beware, my countrymen, of these armed battalions! And I shall continue to repeat the warning, beware! until this dangerous army of corporation minions is disbanded, the burdens of the toilers are made lighter, their rewards made adequate and the "national health and public security made sure by a contented and thrifty working class," as General Benjamin Harrison, our centennial president, in an eloquent speech at Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 13, 1886, said: "A contented and thrifty working class," said he, "is the surest evidence of national health and the best pledge of public security." And in the same speech he reminded his hearers of another equally important truth. He said: "The men who fought the war for the Union were its working people. It was true of the army as of the kingdom of heaven—*not many rich*." The class of men who fought the war for the Union may be implicitly relied upon to protect the public peace at all times. Let that peace then be no longer menaced by the bayonets of mercenary detectives and armed guards (State Regulars) organized and drilled at the expense of the toilers, to uphold the tyranny of cyclopean corporations—which has been done, and for no other purpose—and clearly in contravention of our fundamental laws, and contrary to the genius of our free governments, national and state.

It is one great aim of this publication, in the interest of peace and for the preservation of American liberty, to protest against the existence of this most dangerous institution—the National Guard. The pen is then here literally arrayed against the sword. With an intense earnestness the battle will be fought on the side of the pen. It is only the ancient liberties of the American people that the pen will take shelter behind, and the ball and shell and dynamite

bombs it shall use, will be the maxims of the founders of American freedom.

The people left to themselves to rule, fairly and honestly permitted to make their own laws and to provide for their enforcement for the common good, no necessity will ever arise for the use of armed men. There is positively no need whatever of any "Governor's Guards," or any other body of select and specially trained troops, outside of the real militia—the *posse comitatus*—in Iowa or in any other state of the American Union; for there will be no rebellion of the people against just and equitable laws. Tyrants only have use for battalions of armed mercenaries.

Shame on all who fear to interpose between tyranny and its victims, and who hold the garments of those who stone to death the martyrs of human liberty. I will speak what I believe to be truth though the heavens fall. I would rather be the martyr upon the scaffold than the tyrannous magistrate on the bench in whose hands are the keys of life and death, but who cowardly shrinks from doing his duty in the supreme moment and speaks the speech of an imbecile, yielding to the clamor of the mad monopolists for blood, to the cry of "Crucify him! Crucify him!" Let us remember that there is impending a mighty struggle for the emancipation of labor. History will repeat itself and martyrs will bleed, no doubt; but the cause of truth will be vindicated and the right will triumph in the end in spite of the fact that

"Right is ever on the scaffold;  
Wrong is ever on the throne."

My protest against the bloody tragedy of November 11, 1887, in Illinois, must not be misconstrued. Opposed as I am to John Brownism, that is to say, to violent methods of reform, not less am I opposed to police-Anarchism, that is to say, to the breaking up of public deliberative meetings by force of arms. This, (if any act of government can be so defined), is assuredly just *causam belli*, and should not be tolerated by the American people a single moment. Let us not, while stopping the little leaks, leave the bung of the barrel open. Let us not be scared by the cunning cry of "dynamite," (a Salem witch scare, a sham, cry of "wolf," "wolf"), into surrendering popular rights. Let the rights of free assembly and free speech be maintained at all hazards; for without these rights there is no freedom worth the naming. As an American, I shall say what I think, and I think that the state of Illinois is being made the battleground in the war of monopoly against the people, and that the laws of Illinois are being made siege-guns directed against the Fort Sumter of popular rights. I believe that the blows that fall upon the heads of the so-called "dynamiters" are aimed at the heads of the

workingmen in general, and that there exists a dark and dangerous conspiracy of monopoly against labor, and that the Pinkerton detectives, armed policemen and national guards are the bloodhounds of corporation tyrants in this diabolical hunting down of wage slaves, inaugurated in Illinois, and meant to be made general from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

## VI. ESSENTIAL PARTIES.

There are, however, two great dangers that the people must protect the Commonwealth against; and voters without any preconceived action do naturally divide into two great political parties, the individual being led by the peculiar direction of his own mind to go to the side that seems to him most in need of his protecting arm. Those dangers are (1) Anarchy and (2) Despotism. These two patriotic parties were first organized one hundred years ago. The leaders on the side that first stood guard on the watch-towers of the nation, against Anarchy, were Washington, Adams, Hamilton and others, known as Federalists. The leaders on the other side that first stood guard on the watch-towers of the nation, against Despotism, were Jefferson, Henry, Monroe and others, known as Anti-Federalists.

The doctrine of the Federalist was, viz: "Good government is a necessity to prosperity and peace." The doctrine of the Anti-Federalist was, viz: "The less of government the better (for liberty), if society be kept at peace." The watch-dog and the wolf of Esop—the one preferring plenty, the other freedom.

These two original parties of our people have been known by various names—Federalists, Whigs, and Republicans on the one hand, and Anti-Federalists, Republicans and Democrats on the other. But the parties have remained about the same from the beginning until now. They are both equally patriotic and they are both a necessity. Under the rule of the first we have always national prosperity; under that of the second always (for the majority), individual liberty. The Federalists lost power by infringing upon personal liberty through the passage, in 1798, of the "Alien and Sedition Laws;" the Democrats lost power by a faction of that party—(the disciples of Calhoun)—inaugurating national anarchy in 1860, that is to say, *secession*.

It was anarchy among the states that led in the beginning to the formation of the Federal Constitution, that our fathers called "the hoops of the barrel;" its various clauses being, I suppose, the several "hoops." The Anti-Federalists opposed its adoption;—and they demanded, after it was adopted, that it be "strictly construed." The faction of

the party that tried to "break the hoops off the barrel" by nullification in 1832, renewed the effort to "hack off the hoops" with the tomahawk of secession in 1860, followed by a four years bloody civil war. But the old barrel is sound yet in every stave and hoop. The Republican party exists to keep the hoops on the barrel.

But the Democratic party exists for just as patriotic an end. There is an inherent tendency of society to despotism, as there is an inherent counter-tendency of society to anarchy. The love of order gives rise to the first; the love of freedom to the second. Nature furnishes a parallel in gravity and centrifugal force. These two natural forces exactly balancing produce in nature "the music of the spheres," and those similar tendencies in the social world, kept at equipoise, give rise to social peace and concord. I do not believe, as Jefferson did, that it was the purpose of Washington and Hamilton to set up a monarchy; but I do believe it possible for the American government to become a despotism. It is, I trust, the glorious mission of the Democratic party to prevent this.

#### VII. THE PARAMOUNT QUESTION.

But the supreme question to be answered immediately in the minds of the workingmen of our country is this, viz: To which of these two patriotic parties may the wage-workers look for emancipation; or may they look to either or to both, or may they expect help from neither of the "old parties?" Emancipation of labor must come through the co-operation of national and state governments in beneficent measures of *protection of the industrious*—encouraging by bounties, if need be, the building up of a system of universal co-operation (as national and state governments have, by bounties and subsidies, upheld by both parties, built up our railroad industry), to the end that the producer shall not be compelled to go upon the market with his labor for sale to the highest bidder, but only with the finished products of his labor for sale. The selling of labor is, like the selling of the laborer, slavery, not in a milder, but (when brought to ripeness, as it has been brought in the coal regions of Pennsylvania), in a more oppressive form. This is the paramount question in American politics to-day, and will be so for years to come. The party that fails to recognize this issue will go the way that the Whig party went when it failed to recognize the anti-slavery issue—Webster ignoring it in his noted Marshfield speech. Party leaders, as they grow old, become conservative, looking backward and not forward, while civilization ever advances irresistibly in a straight line, an new issues arise immediately after and old issue is buried out of sight.

The labor problem is pressing for solution now as the anti-slavery problem was in 1860. If the old leaders of party will not wake up from their Rip Van Winkle sleep, but must still continue to be oblivious to the present and to dream only of a "dead past," the young men, North and South, will certainly unfurl the starry banner of the republic, inscribed "PROTECTION OF LABOR," giving to that motto a significance in harmony with the present age and its needs. It is always true that, when the prosperity of the masses is demanded, the principles of the Federal party become popular and are at once brought to the front; but, when the liberties of the people are endangered by the growth of arbitrary power, the principles of the Anti-Federal party are, invoked and at once they come to the front. Hence we saw in the late national election, the so-called "Chicago Anarchists" vote the Democratic ticket, because they rightly believed that they had less reason to fear that coercive laws would be instituted by the Democrats than by the Republicans, remembering that in obedience to Democratic dogma, James Buchanan would have seen the Union forever rent in twain and anarchy forever prevail, rather than resort to coercion. A Democratic governor, true to Democratic doctrine and practice, would never, I think, have permitted the Haymarket Anarchists to be executed for "Conspiracy against Society"—*i. e. sedition*—as great a mistake of the Republican governor of Illinois in 1887, I believe, as was the hanging of John Brown for "treason" against a state of which he was not an inhabitant,—a fatal mistake of the Whig governor of Virginia in 1859. If ever there arise, in the popular mind a general fear of despotism, the Democratic party will certainly come again into power.

#### VIII. THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

Can the state say "presto" and all men thus become at once rich? Clearly no. But is it not true that the few have become millionaires by legal enactments? As clearly yes. And without coercive laws millionaires could not be. The many workers would not respect the "right" (wrong) of the few idlers (robbers) "to have and to hold" the accumulations of the labor of the industrious millions, but for coercive laws.\* How long without coercive laws, backed by the military power of England, the people of Ireland disarmed, would the wealth of that rich island be the prop-

\* The pauperism and degradation of the English laborer were the result of a series of Acts of Parliament and Acts of Government which were designed or adopted with the express purpose of compelling the laborer to work for the lowest rates of wages possible, and which succeeded at last in effecting the purpose.—"Six Centuries of Work and Wages in England."—ROGERS.

erty (plunder) of a few alien "robbers of widow's houses?" Not a day. Any government that is not an expression of the will of the governed, is tyranny. Any industrial system that has to be bolstered up by armed policemen, armed guards and armed detectives, "conspiracy laws," the penitentiary and the gallows, is slavery. No wonder, then, that so-called "government" (coercion) has become odious to the minds of all workmen the world over. The less of such government the better. Society need not be "kept at peace." Peace is its normal condition—all disturbing elements being withdrawn. And the greatest disturbing element, yea, the sole cause of discord and suffering, is the avarice of the few, the insatiable greed of a so-called "upper class," like those who kept up the reservoir near Johnstown in Pennsylvania for their piscatorial amusement, though the lives of multiplied thousands were jeopardized, and finally sacrificed thereby.

But organized and systematized society is a necessity. This is the Hamiltonian idea of popular government, viz: "Law, the formula (word-expression) of the harmonious movements of well organized society, its motion being in accord with the popular will," which, indeed, is the perfection of human government, all men and all women having equal voice in making and executing the laws.

In its advance from the lower to the higher stages of civilization, society passes inevitably through different conditions of growth, effete institutions perishing by a natural law. Thus chattel slavery inevitably passed away, and gave place to the wage system of industry, which is but another form of slavery. Wage slavery will as inevitably pass away and give place to co-operative industry—the natural system and the most ancient of all.) It is vain to attempt, by coercion, to stop the progress of society.\* Trusts are an evidence of growth. They will inevitably be extended and enlarged with the advance of society, either for the benefit of the few, or the many, which will be determined by the nature of the government. If aristocratic, or plutocratic, the few will alone be benefited by them; if democratic, the many. Here, then, is the real question at issue between the many and the few: Shall the many rule, or shall the few? That is the supreme question. Let the government be democratic and the extension and development of the prin-

ciple of "trusts" will be brought about by the action of the whole people building up a grand co operative system of production and distribution of products, in which all shall have equal interest—a universal "trust"—abrogating private ownership, (1) of the medium of exchange, (2) of the tools of production, and (3) of the lands.

The people believe in combination. Hence exist societies, churches, lodges, clubs, unions, corporations, states,—the object of each being *mutual protection of the individual*. The more nearly the welfare and rights of each individual are assured the better for each and all. We have "protective" legislation. The American people have given a majority vote in favor of the policy. Protection of the well-being and rights of the toilers is the first object of all just government; for the toilers are the ninety-and-nine. We have only, then, to resolve that the benefits of protection shall be general and not particular. This will result when wage industry has been superceded by co-operative industry. Only through *protective laws* can wage industry be made to give way to co-operative industry.

Monopoly, I anticipate, will soon break down of its own weight. Since my boyhood the whole household economy of the American people has undergone a complete revolution, and nothing remains as it was forty years ago. So must political economy be revolutionized; so must social economy be improved upon. No man has a right to more than his due proportion of the benefits of mechanical inventions—of the spontaneous gifts of nature—or of the benefits of legislation. Nature knows no "upper" and "lower" (favored and enslaved) classes. All are created equal. Society will be brought to its natural condition, *if the people rule*. Artificial barriers and walls of division will crumble and fall down. The many must rule. The many will not much longer permit the few to hold, by penal enactments, enforced by national guards, detectives and policemen, armed and drilled and subject to the command of monopoly, the ownership and control of the products of the labor of the millions of workers—conceding the right to the few of the ownership of the lands, mines and machinery, and of the ownership and control of the medium of exchange. The money of the nation—the most important instrument of activity and industry—the key to prosperity, must be controlled by the many for the common good—the employment of labor co-operatively, and the equitable distribution of products, so that private trusts may no longer exist.

Let the laws assure to each and every human being the fruits of his or her own toil, and like benefits of machinery. The people will voluntarily make ample provision for the kindly care of all the help-

\* Where the social system is incompatible with the social state it is plainly unphilosophical and unwise to resort to means of compulsion. No matter what the power of government or of human authority may be, it is impossible for them to stop the intellectual advancement, for it forces its way by an organic law over which they have no kind of control. —"History of the Intellectual Development of Europe."—DRAPER.

less poor. They will make common the ownership of the soil—of the minerals under the earth and of the wealth of the seas, lakes and water-courses, common the ownership of the tools of production, and common the ownership of the greatest, the mightiest of all instruments of prosperity, the "lawful money of the nation." All natural inequalities they will *level up*, making the strong and the healthful to be eyes to the blind and feet to the lame. They will make obsolete all penal statutes, and crime will then cease to be; for crime is the ripened fruit of oppression.

The people will only allow the existence of private corporations for religious, moral, philanthropic, educational and productive purposes when once the people (men and women) rule. And the associations for productive purposes will be co-operative, every member of the association having like interest in it. The laws and governments of states and nations will then have but one aim, viz: The subordination of the rights of property to the natural rights of man.

To my mind, the present disharmony of our social system and the tendency of wealth to center in the hands of the few, arise from two principal causes:

1, wage industry; 2, specie basis money.

A third cause (but it does not affect us greatly as yet, but will be unbearable by and bye), is land monopoly.

We must advocate then (1) Co-operative industry. (2) Lawful money. (3) Land limitation. Or we may place our demands in the following verbal form:

1, free tools; 2, free money; 3, free lands.

The growth of trusts is the harbinger of the coming day. It implies that the competitive system of labor, production and distribution of products, is on its death-bed. There is nothing left to the people to do, but to form a grand trust in which every man, woman and child in America shall have like interest, and from which like benefit shall result to each. We have reached the era of combination. We have only to ask, how shall the ninety-and-nine combine?

The only way for us to defeat private trusts is to build up a great public trust that shall capture all the lesser trusts. We cannot go back to the old ways if we would. There has now begun a race on the combination track; will the people come out ahead? If they do not they will be slaves. The question to be answered is, shall we reach a universal trust through evolution, or through revolution?

I think we may reach the goal of universal co-operation through evolution, with the ballot as our only implement of warfare. But the producing class (farmers, mechanics and wage workers), must unite in one vast UNION and stand together, *speaking with one voice*.

The railroad corporations are determined to give free passes to all legislators, judges, etc. Be it so! Let laws be enacted declaring that all officials—"servants of the people"—from justice of the peace to president of the United States, —*shall ride free* on all railroads. Accommodate the tendency. Make it fit in as a part of the social system. "Resist not evil," but convert it into good. Outflank the enemy, utilizing omnipotent forces. Who could destroy electricity? But it is possible to utilize, for the good of mankind, what once was considered only an evil—a "destructive force"—the thunderbolts of Jove. Thus the supremacy of mind over matter is displayed, and of good over evil.

#### IX. THE MANY AND THE FEW.

I insist, therefore, that the plan of campaign which Sherman put in force against Johnson, we must adopt against trusts. We must outflank them. *National wants must be met by national means*. This is genuine "protection." The surplus in the national treasury, and new issues of "lawful money" to meet all demands and needs of the producers, should be distributed, not to national banks, but to the states, to be loaned by county treasurers to the farmers, like the school fund is loaned at a rate of interest not above one per cent. per annum, with unlimited time. Co-operative manufacturing and co-operative mining should be instituted by national aids, the factories and mines being leased to the workers by the government at not above one per cent. per annum of cost. Farmers should vote tax and build mills, factories, slaughter-houses, creameries, etc., etc., as they do school houses; operating them under supervision of boards of directors, of their election, as they now run the schools—to the end of bringing forth finished products, and not alone raw material.

But this great undertaking must be preceded by land-limitation laws, forbidding ownership, by corporations, of agricultural, grazing and mineral lands, and confining the individual owner to a reasonable homestead, the government purchasing, at an appraised valuation, all surplus lands, paying for them in lawful money of the United States, and re-selling them on unlimited time (annual interest on purchase price not above one per cent.) in small homesteads to individuals to be occupied and filled by the bonafide purchasers, thus abolishing tenant and bonanza farming, and making the agriculturists independent, as all producers ought to be.

The gift by the government to national bankers of their so-called "currency" (money) declared by law "receivable"—to be used by them until their banking business is finally wound up, is clearly a

confiscation of the wealth of the many and its gratuitous bestowal on the few—robbery of the people to enrich a favored class. It is the "sum of all modern villainies." In line with it was the deposit by the government of \$60,000,000 of the national surplus, without interest, in the vaults of favored banks.

The United States government is at present a huge machine for robbing the many of their wealth and pouring it into the store-houses of the few—but only because the few are allowed to control—is it so. The government is now, and has been for twenty years, controlled and used by the money power, with headquarters in Lombard street, London, as a supple instrument to oppress and rob the producing masses of our country. That power gathers tribute from the people of the United States beyond that paid by all the world besides; the sums derived by England from India, Egypt, and British America being not a tithe of that paid in interest to the money power by our people, which amounts to not less than \$1,500,000,000 annually.

Counting ten million voters in our land, this sum equals the average of one hundred and fifty dollars per year, or twelve dollars and fifty cents per month *tribute paid by each man that casts a ballot in the United States, to the Rothschilds and Barings and their agents*—exactd from us on the pretext of supplying the people a "tool of exchange based on gold"—"a dollar worth a hundred cents"—as foul a robbery, swindle and humbug as was ever devised by the cunning ingenuity of man.

This robbery, I am compelled to believe, was designedly brought upon us by means of a gigantic conspiracy—the same diabolical motives influencing its designers, and those who voted to execute it, and the wicked leaders who carried it out—(president, cabinet and congress responsible for it) as influenced of old the traitors who bartered away the freedom of Ireland and Scotland.

"The English steel we could disdain  
Secure in valor's station—  
But English gold has been our bane—  
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation."  
—BURNS.

## X. THE DESTINY OF HUMANITY.

Effect follows cause. The two are indissolubly connected by natural law. Given the cause and the inevitable effect may be foretold with mathematical certainty. One great change comes and other great changes necessarily follow. Let one of the planets, for instance, leave its prescribed path in the heavens, and there will be an immediate change of path of every orb in the universe. So the wonderful inventions of the nineteenth century affecting production are bringing about momentous social changes—all in the same direction—all in the

direction of human advancement. But the friction to be overcome is great. Our civil war was the result of this friction. But the car of progress did not pause. Hark! how great a noise is heard to-day in the labor world, of strikes, the shooting down of workmen by guards, detectives and policemen in arms. It is the creaking of the wheels of the great car upon their axles, heated until they smoke; for the friction is as great now, and from the same cause, as in 1860—the greed of a selfish few. What may we expect? Another civil war? God, forbid!

Will the enormous "trusts," the immense combinations and aggregations of capital, that have gathered and are still gathering in great lumps, as butter gathers in the churn, will all these be able to pool their selfish interests and unite against the people in one huge lump, and become what the British aristocracy has ever been and still is, a banditti?—a cave of robbers? And shall they marshal armies and dictate the laws, president and congress, governors and legislatures, and the federal and state courts continuing to be ever willing instruments in their hands? Thus has the British government, been always a willing and supple instrument in the hands of the British aristocracy. And the American governments, of states and nation, are willing and supple instruments in the hands of monopoly to-day, and have been for many years.

There is no middle ground to be occupied now more than there was in 1860. The toilers of our country must be either absolutely freemen or absolutely slaves. There can be no permanent compromise on the basis of wage industry. Profit-sharing will do, if the profits shared shall amount to an equitable division of profits, determined by the *common voice* and not fixed by the dictum of a "boss"—a petty autocrat. The overgrown power of concentrated wealth must be neutralized by the votes of the toiling many. This can never be done in the presence of a great military organization like the national guard, which will certainly be used by the few to enslave the many. Our government is rapidly drifting toward despotism. The machinery of coercion is being cautiously and covertly perfected "so as not to arouse opposition." There is danger that soon the people will find themselves fast bound, hand and foot—prisoners of war to a mongrel, Anglo-American aristocracy.

Such will inevitably be our lot and the condition of master and slave continue indefinitely, the few idle reveling in luxury, the many industrious groveling in poverty, unless by universal suffrage, voicing an *advanced condition of education and general knowledge of governmental science and social economy on the part of the people* we may be en-

abled to hold what the fathers bequeathed us—*equality of rights*.

These rights we ought surely to maintain and perpetuate through the coming generations for at least "a thousand years."

"A thousand years, our own Columbia;  
It is the glad day so long foretold—  
It is the glad morn whose early twilight  
Washington saw in days of old."

The American masses ought to be ever on the alert. They ought not to sleep in the presence of the enemy. The English masses under the leadership of the great Gladstone are beginning to arouse themselves from the sleep of centuries. Soon the workmen of all nations will, I trust, become the world's law-makers. Then will the equality of all men and the enfranchisement of woman result universally. The benefits of mechanical inventions will become a blessing alike to all. There will be no poor. Each will have ample time for mental culture. Harmony will prevail. No strikes; no

scaling down of wages; no enslavement of labor; no monopoly of lands; no bonanza farms; no capitalists; no usurers; rent abolished; interest abolished; all alike free; all alike rich; no prisons; no poor houses;—there will be only co-operation.

Co-operation is as grand a word as was ever uttered. God is one. Man shall be one. "Be ye one as I and the Father are one" is the divine command. This is co-operation. It is oneness—unity. What a magnificent meaning has our national motto: "*E pluribus Unum*—out of many, one"—when applied to the race of mankind. This is the destiny of humanity—one family—all working together for the special good of each and the common good of all—a world-wide "trust"—a universal combination of the world's workers for the common welfare. This is co-operation—the sun-burst of democracy—the realization of the dream of Jefferson.

## OUR COUNTRY:

A COMMENCEMENT POEM, BURLINGTON UNIVERSITY, BURLINGTON, IOWA, JUNE 10, 1857,

On a shore far remote, in days now long past,  
Some God-fearing men, whose possessions were vast,

Bade adieu to their homes and fields of bright grain,  
In a small ship of burden to cross the rough main.

Nor treasures, nor plunder they sought o'er the seas;  
The flag of Religion they spread to the breeze,  
Displaying the motto, expressive and odd,—  
"Rebellion to tyrants is duty to God,"  
Away from oppression and Britain they bore,  
And landed on Holland's republican shore.

Beyond the broad ocean America lay,  
Where the sun drives his chariot at close of the day;

Wild men and wild beasts had there their abode;  
But there, too, the Temple of Liberty stood.

The heroes of faith saw its dome from afar,  
And hailed it again as their beaconing star.

They are rocked on the bosom of Ocean once more;  
They come to a bleak and a desolate shore;  
No Dido receives them at Old Plymouth Rock;  
At the portals of no princely mansion they knock;

Old Boreas, winter-robed, stoops to the strand,  
To welcome the coming of that pilgrim band.

O Puritan fathers, your names we revere;  
How great were your labors and sufferings here;  
How sorely harassed by your wild Indian foes;  
How Famine oppressed you with terrible woes!

Your God you heard whisper in every kind breeze  
That fanned the old mountains or kissed the young trees,—  
"Ye children of Freedom, press on to the prize;  
A glorious nation from you shall arise!"

The axe of the woodman advances its strokes;  
The forest of ages is shorn of its oaks;  
And millions of freemen dwell on the bright shore,  
Where the rod of Oppression may reach them no more.

Hermea, lovely maiden, in sleep-mantled rest,  
Once dreamed that a serpent lay coiled on her breast;

No dreams of dread reptiles our fathers harassed  
But worse than a Hydra assailed them at last,—

A desperate tyrant, whose treacherous aim  
Was the spirit of freedom to thoroughly tame.  
Go tame the proud bison, the prairie that roams;  
Tame him as he breathes the free air of our homes.

"Brother, please hand me my scabbard and knife;

I go to the conflict; I'm bound for the strife!—  
Dearest maiden, cease weeping; good mother farewell,

Those proud British foemen I, too, must help quell;

I know my loved sisters may suffer for bread;  
I know, too, my father all gory lies dead!  
Did not he with brave Warren, the last on the field,

His life for his children most willingly yield?  
Shall I, proudly boasting his blood in my veins,  
Shrink back while a hope for my country remains?

Away to our chieftain, my steed must be fleet!  
The chieftain so gallant at Braddock's defeat!  
Bold hearts now assemble; their swords glitter bright;

They go where he leads in defense of the right,  
'Neath the ensign of freedom—the eagle on high—

To conquer, and triumph, or willingly die!"

"Go, son, saith the matron, go join in the strife;  
She sends you who loves you, who gave you your life;

'Gainst famine ever trusting in Him, we'll be found,  
Who cares for the sparrow that falls to the ground

This Bible take with you wherever you roam,  
That God may protect you and guide you safe home.

If not to our dwelling on earth here of love,  
To a mansion more pleasing in Heaven above."

What tyrant e'er conquered a spirit like this?  
What Gessler could humble brave Tell of the Swiss?

No bravery or fortitude ever was shown,  
By any bold people, surpassing our own;  
Of the dread British Lion they humbled the pride,

The monster Oppression fell gasping and died,

And reward for their labors thus fully they  
gained;  
The great "Declaration of Freedom" main-  
tained!  
They said, "We have triumphed, this land is our  
own;  
But then must there here be established a  
throne?  
How soon would we rue that perfidious power!  
How soon would be banished from Freedom's  
fair tower!  
Contemplate the picture, instructive and true,  
That pages historic exhibit to view!  
Behold there all Monarchy shrouded in gloom,  
And grim Aristocracy, black as the tomb!  
At the top of the canvas old Greece stands alone,  
Oh gaze on her splendor that for ages has shone  
The light of the world! the pride of mankind!  
How grand and how glorious! of all most re-  
fin'd!  
There thought was unfettered; all the land a  
great school,—  
Man rose to perfection. Why?—The people bore  
rule!  
Look, too, at proud Rome, the Plebian in power,  
Subduing the world, as it were, in an hour!  
But the child of their choice does monarchs amuse!  
So led are our fathers a Republic to choose;  
For the day it shall die and be cast in the sea,

They plan for themselves quite a grand jubila-  
lee.  
Since then the "weak babe" has a Hercules  
grown;  
At his look now dread Monarchy quakes on her  
throne;  
A giant Anteus in his arms has been crushed;  
The voice of Oppression to silence is hushed;  
The world, we may say, he bears up with all  
ease;  
Golden apples are snatched from the Hesper-  
ides,—  
Golden apples of freedom, fairest fruit ever  
known,  
Through him shall all nations receive as their  
own!

My Country, I love thee, thy prairies and hills;  
Thy broad, flowing rivers and murmuring rills;  
Thy greatness be sung to the true poet's lyre.  
In strains that such freedom alone can inspire?  
American youth, behold where you stand!  
To you must be given the care of this land!  
Prepare for your calling; be worthy the trust;  
Let not our proud banner be trailed in the dust!  
Then banish ambition, and avarice, and pride,  
That a true public spirit may ever abide.  
'Twas the loss of this anchor that sunk mighty  
Rome.  
Be ever, Columbia, the patriot's home!

## ESSAY II.—THE BONDAGE OF THE MANY.

### I. THE LOYALTY OF LABOR.

The words of Cardinal Gibbons, Arch-  
bishop of Baltimore, in his letter to the  
Roman propaganda, defining the pur-  
poses and aims of the order of Knights  
of Labor, dated February 10, 1887, are  
a most just and timely tribute to the  
poor toilers of our country, who by the  
tyranny of combined capital are menaced  
with a bondage more oppressive than  
chattel slavery itself. He says: "It is  
a fact, well known, that the poor toilers  
have no inclination to resist or break  
the laws of the land, but simply to ob-  
tain equitable legislation by constitu-  
tional and legitimate means."

The "poor toilers," let it be borne in  
mind, are the so-called "dangerous  
class" that the worshippers of Mammon  
have armed the national guard in all the  
states of the Union to overawe, and  
hold, by means of Gatling guns and re-  
peating rifles, in subjection to the  
"rich man" in authority. In the words  
of that same patriotic prelate: "It will  
suffice," he says, "to mention the fact  
that monopolies, not only by individ-  
uals, but corporations also, have  
already excited complaints from the  
workingmen and opposition from pub-  
lic men and national legislators as well;  
that the efforts of those monopolists,  
not always unsuccessful, to control legis-  
lation for their own profit, cause a  
great deal of anxiety to the disinterested  
friends of liberty; that their heartless  
avarice—which, to increase their revenues,  
ruthlessly crushes not only the working-  
men representing the various trades, but  
even the women and the young children  
in their employ, makes it plain to all who  
love humanity and justice that not only  
the workingman has a right to organize  
for his own protection, but that it is the

duty of the public at large to aid him in  
finding a remedy against the dangers  
with which civilization and social order  
are menaced by avarice, oppression and  
corruption."

The "common people" speak with one  
voice for peace, progress, enlightenment,  
philanthropy, unity, brotherhood, self-  
sacrifice, honesty, devotion, and what-  
ever else is approved of God. Nothing  
is upheld, applauded or perpetuated by  
the voice of the people that the people  
believe to be wrong. The majority ap-  
prove what is right, love what is right,  
and do what is right as far as they have  
knowledge of the right; and when they  
have seemed to approve what is wrong,  
love what is wrong, or have done what  
is wrong, it was when they were deceived  
into believing the wrong to be right.  
Upon this Gibraltar of truth is built the  
impregnable fortress of democracy. The  
millennial day will dawn on the world  
when the people truly govern, when the  
common opinion is registered in the laws;  
not the average opinion of any one class  
or select part of the population, but that  
of all men and all women. This average  
opinion of all will be the nearest approach  
to perfect government that mankind can  
ever reach—enlightened, let me always  
insist, by the divine precepts of the New  
Testament.†

Many good people (active, earnest and  
patriotic) are too busy with material  
things to give due consideration to the  
hidden movement, which we term "the  
onward march of civilization." But  
what is civilization? It is the ripening

†Through all the successive conditions, the  
criterion of truth is ever advancing in preci-  
sion and power, and the maximum is found in  
the unanimous opinion of the whole human  
race.—"Intellectual Development of Europe."  
—DRAPER.

of humanity. Reform is the breaking away of the clouds of selfishness that have prevented the light and warmth of the "Sun of Righteousness" from mellowing the beautiful fruitage of the garden of God—the world of humankind. The ideas that beam from the sermon of Jesus on the Mount are the source of modern civilization. They antagonize war, cruel punishment and the lust of gain. It is the heaven of his love that has expanded the common conscience, rendering chattel slavery intolerable, wageslavery an incongruity, and that assures to the toilers of all nations the speedy inauguration of co-operative industry, universally. The "New Republic" is the brotherhood and sisterhood of the human race, a civilized world living under the shadow of the Tree of Liberty—the fulfillment of the prophecy of the American bard concerning the increase of the stars of our flag:

"And those stars shall increase till the fullness of time

Its millions of cycles has run—  
Till the world shall have welcomed its mission sublime

And the nations of earth shall be one "  
—CUTLER.

I deny that there would be wars if the people absolutely governed. I deny that there exists in any country a "dangerous class," if the lust of gold and the lust of power were extinguished in the hearts of the selfish few that have usurped the government of the world and enslaved the peace-loving many. I maintain that the poor workers (like those wantonly shot down at St. Louis) are as harmless as the lamb in the presence of the wolf, until driven to frenzy and despair by outrageous oppression; and that armed interference, by the authorities of city or state in the disputes between employers and employed, is unbearable tyranny—the climax of wrong.

The employer calls on the governor for help, and national guards are sent, nominally to "preserve the peace," but really to defeat the workingmen, and for this object alone they are called out, and for this object alone has the national guard come into existence in the United States.

The king of Great Britain made war upon our fathers, instead of granting them justice. O blind worshipers of force, do not, I entreat, bid defiance to the lessons of history! Whence came the brave men that carried the stars and stripes to triumphant victory in the war of 1776? in that of 1812? and in that of 1861? They came from the farm, forge and factory. Under the burning sun of summer, in the glare of the furnace, and amid the din of machinery, inured to toil—disciplined in the school of labor: behold invincible, incorruptible men—in the grandest sense of the word,

"MEN, high-minded men,  
With powers as far above dull brutes endued  
In forest, brake and den,  
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;  
Men who their duties know,  
And know their rights, and knowing, dare  
maintain,  
Prevent the long-aimed blow,  
And crush the tyrant while they rend the  
chain."

## II. CONFIDENCE IN THE PEOPLE.

The foundation principle of the American government is confidence in the people. All rights are inalienable that belong to them, including the right "to keep and bear arms." To say that a public officer can declare any right of the many null, is to place him above the people. All officials are their servants. The people are king and lord, and their rights are paramount.

But little by little the power of the people is being undermined and the power of the official class strengthened. The moment the machinery of state, manipulated by the official class, becomes more powerful than the people, will liberty inevitably perish. Hence no standing army can be legally "kept up in time of peace" in any state of the American Union. Hence to disarm the people (the real militia) forbidding them to "parade or drill with arms in their hands, without license of the governor," and at the same time keeping up a standing army of "state regulars" in time of peace, is to strike a dagger deep into Liberty's heart—is revolution.

And right here I indict the monopolies that have grown so great in our country that legislatures, governors, and judge of courts have become their obedient tools—I indict them before the bar of the people for the crime of "conspiracy" to overthrow democratic liberty. I charge them with having already overthrown it in the establishment of a standing army in every state of the union, having clothed the governors with dictatorial powers, and having armed a select band of state regulars, enlisted for five years, paying them to parade and drill in time of peace, contrary to the express provisions of the state constitutions—our fundamental laws.

It was believed by the fathers of the republic that the government, about to be established by them, would rest in the affections of all its citizens, secure from domestic violence. They laid down the axiom, as its chief corner stone, that if "government be not secure from domestic violence without the menace of a standing army, it is because it fails to protect the rights of the many."

If the rights of the many were at all times and everywhere impartially protected, there would be neither civil wars, strikes nor discords among men, and crimes of all kinds would cease. And they also declared, "any government

that cannot be maintained without a standing army, ought to go down." And the same thing may be said of institutions of every kind. If the wage system of industry, for instance, cannot be kept alive without national guards, armed detectives and armed policemen, then let the wage system perish and a better (co-operation) take its place. "The less of government the better," said Jefferson, "if society be kept at peace." Here, I think, he meant by the word "government" not "the democratic system or polity of a free state," but the exercise of authority—in a word, *coercion*.

The two words, "government" and "law," are very indefinite in meaning, as commonly used. Government in Ireland is *coercion* and law is *oppression*. According to Jefferson, government, to be "sacred," is a democratic polity, and law the "states, collected will." Any statute that is not a clear expression of the "will of the governed," is tyranny. So-called "laws" may be formally passed by corrupt influences. Such measures have no *sacredness*, no *binding force*; but it is the duty of the "people to alter or abolish them." "Let there be only police," he said, "to keep order, otherwise, no interference with and no control of the individual, except by appeals to his reason and conscience."

The advancement of society from barbarism to civilization has caused many things that once were considered right, to be now considered wrong, viz: the eating of human flesh, the drinking of alcoholic liquors as a beverage, the holding of chattel slaves, etc.; and as a consequence, he who would now open a shop for the sale of human flesh for food, or of alcoholic liquors for drink, or a mart for the buying and selling of slaves, would be justly criminal, as truly so as a thief or murderer.

"Social order in a free country is the result of equilibrium of interests and not of coercion," is another axiom of the father's creed.

This last expresses a very important truth, throwing great light upon the present deplorable condition of our society, revealing the cause of the anti-democratic tendency of political affairs in our country to-day, if the following corollary, deduced logically from that axiom, be considered in the same connection, viz: whenever the few become very rich and the many very poor, as has been the condition of European society for a thousand years and as is rapidly becoming that of American society to-day, and the producers of wealth have been impoverished through usury, through rent, through the enslavement of labor or through exorbitant taxation by petty corporations and the state, or through all of these causes combined, coercion will creep in as sure as cause produces effect, and, as a consequence, popular liberty will cease to exist. The same

cause operating here as in Europe will certainly produce the same effect here as in Europe; hence, we see why a national guard has come into existence in these states, contrary to the express provisions of our fundamental laws that forbid the organization and maintenance of a standing army in time of peace.

Society advances. Institutions are fixed. Society constantly outgrows institutions. Our Federal Constitution has been "amended" time and again to adapt it to the advanced growth of society. The object of coercive governmental machinery, like that in operation in Ireland, is to hold society to a fixed condition, which is as impossible to do as it is to stop the motion of the planets by any machinery man may construct for that purpose. The civil war was brought on to perpetuate chattel slavery—an outgrown institution. The machinery of coercion, i. e., guards, detectives and armed police, is fitted up to perpetuate wage slavery, which is also outgrown.

As long as the government and the people were one and the same thing, a standing army was clearly out of place; but when (as we see it now), the government and the people have become, *de facto*, two separate and distinct things, a standing army to hold the people (the so-called "dangerous class") in subjection to the government (the monopolists) is clearly a logical necessity to the continued maintenance of such an unhappy state of society. All history shows that wealthy monopolists hesitate not a moment to trample upon all laws, human and divine, and to even sacrifice the lives of the people, without stint, to maintain their hateful supremacy over the many whom they have robbed and enslaved. Who can forget how the sacred tribunes—the immortal Gracchi—were murdered by the senators of old Rome? and who has not read of the hateful "conspiracy laws" of good old mother England of the centuries happily passed?\*

\*By construction of law the offense of conspiracy, which was originally a combination for the purpose of bringing false evidence against others, or for the purpose of subsequently committing a crime, was extended to those associations of workmen, whose purpose it was to raise the rate of wages by such combination, for the whole basis of the practice on the subject appears to be inferential from the statute of Edward VI., under which penalties are inflicted on those who combine not to do work, except at a certain price and for a certain time; and for implied violations of the 18th, 19th and 20th clauses of the Act of Elizabeth, which must be forced in order to bear such a construction. But at the conclusion of the eighteenth century an Act of Parliament was carried, which declares all contracts, except between master and man, for obtaining advances of wages, altering the usual time of working, decreasing the quantity of work and the like, illegal. Workmen who entered into such illegal combinations are punishable by imprisonment, and a similar punishment is inflicted on those who enter into combinations to procure an advance of wages, or seek to prevent

Standing armies are organized to suppress freedom, never to preserve it. When all are free and equal, as our fathers were, each is a law unto himself and a pillar of state—grateful to his beloved country as was Washington, for the opportunities enjoyed of manifesting his inviolable attachment to her by “services, faithful and persevering.”

Give us back again that perfect freedom and equality that prevailed in the northern states of our confederacy even thirty years ago, and there will be no more demand for a national guard to preserve order in these states now than there was then, when the patriotism of the northern people was a sufficient guaranty of the public security and the preservation of the Union, menaced by the chattel slave-drivers, influenced by avarice, ambition and madness, as the public security and peace are menaced to-day by the wage slave-drivers, influenced by the same unworthy motives, in the wicked attempt they are making to destroy popular liberty and inaugurate bayonet rule in the United States, like Britain’s iron rule of Ireland.

Standing armies have always served to give minorities control over majorities. We may know when democratic government is falling into decay by the growth of a standing army. As soon as the army becomes powerful enough to hold the many in subjection to the few will democratic government end in the United States, as elsewhere it has uniformly, for the same cause, ended.

### III. A GUN ABOVE THE CABIN DOOR.

To be prepared to protect our homes and our rights is the surest guaranty of peace as well as of freedom. Hence, our fathers declared “the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.” They meant to have the people armed and the state disarmed; hence, they allowed to every man, as an unquestionable right, *a gun above his cabin door*. Days were set apart for general yearly muster of the whole male population of military age. They meant by a “well trained militia” a *whole people* drilled in military tactics. Thus was the “government” (the people) prepared for self-defense. But they considered the government (the people) unsafe in the presence of a standing army, however small; therefore, the patriots of the last generation, who had made for themselves happy homes on the beautiful and bountiful prairies of Iowa, confident of the inherent strength of democratic institutions, unmenaced by the bayonets of a

other workmen from hiring themselves or procuring them to quit their employment. Meetings and combinations for effecting such purpose are punishable in like manner, and offenders who inform against their associates are to be indemnified.—“Six Centuries of Work and Wages in England.”—ROGERS.

hiring soldiery, declared in the bill of rights of the free constitution of our beloved state, “No standing army shall be kept up by the state in time of peace; and in time of war no appropriation for a standing army shall be for a longer time than two years.” And the constitution of the United States forbids the states to keep troops in time of peace “without the consent of congress.” Iowa cannot legally keep troops in time of peace at all. But the governor of our state in a late public address, announced that the Iowa National Guards are as well drilled as regulars of the United States Army; that the six regiments under his command can be concentrated at the capital of the state at any time in twelve hours, and that they are kept up by a biennial appropriation of money by the state legislature. Just the other day an order was drawn on the Treasurer of State for \$25,000, to pay the Iowa National guard for drilling at the encampment lately held at Keokuk. Those acquainted with Iowa law ask, why is this army kept up? What right has the legislature, (they further ask,) to appropriate even a single cent of the peoples’ money to keep up an armed force in the time of peace? The legislators, *openly, at the dictation of monopoly, do what the members know they have no constitutional right to do*; and the corrupt courts, in obedience to the command of monopoly, set aside and trample upon the will of the people, even though it had been expressed by a popular vote in a non-partisan election, as when the supreme court of Iowa set aside the prohibition amendment, nullifying *designedly* the supreme law of the state, the *people’s spoken will*.

A standing army of six regiments (more formidable and far more dangerous to the liberties of the people than an army of fifty regiments, I may truly say, would have been before the day of railroads and telegraphs), is now kept up in Iowa contrary to law, and paid by the state to drill in time of peace—what for? *To hold the people fast bound hand and foot in chains to the chariot wheels of monopoly*, and for no other conceivable rational purpose.

“But if each and every man in America to-day, able to bear arms, was the possessor of a good repeating rifle and a thousand rounds of fixed ammunition (as it is his right to be) and all were organized into volunteer militia companies, regiments and battallions, and were well drilled under officers of their own choosing (as it is their legal privilege to be, and as the fathers designed they should be, and, I will add, *as they ought to be*), no power on earth, foreign or domestic, could overthrow the government of the people. This our fathers foresaw when they embodied in the fundamental law the “right of the people to keep and bear arms” and instituted the general

yearly muster of *all able bodied men* between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years.

But if we have indeed come upon a time when the people have been by law forbidden to "parade, drill or appear in procession with arms in their hands without license of the governor," and there has been organized in the United States a standing army of two hundred and fifty thousand well-drilled soldiers (under the cloak of "militia"—a false name), that the monopolists can and do control and use to shoot down inoffensive workingmen, women and children, who dare to raise their voices against the tyranny of combined capital, then indeed are our liberties dangerously menaced.

I contend that the national guard, kept up at no inconsiderable cost to state and nation, exists as an institution in Iowa, in direct violation of the letter of our state constitution as well as of the spirit of our free institutions, and of the genius of our democratic government itself,—and the same is unquestionably true of this guard in every state of the Union. Whatever words may be employed to correctly define a "standing army" defines correctly the national guard. Calling it "militia" is surely a misnomer. There is no essential difference in their make-up from that of four-fifths of the brigades and regiments of the great standing armies of Germany, Russia and Austria. Besides they are paid higher wages in this state, while on duty and in encampment, than was ever before paid to mercenary troops by any government on earth. When and where were private soldiers ever paid before for service "on duty and in encampment" at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents per day each, or forty-five dollars per month, besides clothing and rations?

A standing army of national guards will bear down upon the people as heavily under the false name of "militia" as under their true name of "mercenary state regulars." The volunteer militia of the north won laurels in the civil war, enduring all kinds of hardships for a pittance of pay (not exceeding twenty cents per day, gold.) They fought as true patriots, not for "sordid pay." To be a soldier of the Union was something honorable, and the people came to look kindly upon the soldier's office. But the patriot must now say to the people, beware! Look through the thin veil of deception and fraud thrown over the face of the mercenary guard, and you will see that guard a "Prætorian band"—corporation minions.

What a contrast between the pay of the Iowa volunteers of the late war and that of the Iowa national guard of today, as well as between the hard service of the former abroad and the easy service of the latter at home. But there has been no sudden conversion of our

law makers (let me say) into lovers of the citizen soldiers. On the contrary, the same code of Iowa declares that the real and only correctly named "militia" when called out "shall receive the same pay as regulars of the United States army." A bill now (March, 1887) is before the legislature of Illinois to pay each of the privates of the national guard of that state while on duty, two dollars per diem, or sixty dollars per month. Why? Manifestly that the ranks of the guard may be filled, when occasion calls, with mercenary cut-throats, hiring "detectives," from the slums of the large cities, to shoot down inoffensive workers, men, women and children, as has already been done by them on several occasions, paid by the corporations five dollars per day and shielded from deserved punishment, by their money freely bestowed in the employment of the best lawyers of the nation in their defence, for any cold-blooded and unprovoked murders of innocent people they may commit—people who may have happened to come in range of their repeating rifles (of the latest pattern, and furnished them by the corporation kings), as at St. Louis recently and, later still, in New Jersey, where they wantonly shot and killed an inoffensive school boy, with the manifest design of thereby creating a "riot" that might give them a pretext for a wholesale massacre of workingmen, and so (in the interest of the employers of labor) to put a bloody period to a "strike," and thus teach the workers a "wholesome lesson" of obedience and subordination to the "rich man."

No necessity exists nor even a plausible pretext for the establishment of this mercenary armed national guard, especially since so many of the voters of our country, north and south, have had military training in actual service on a hundred battle fields of the late war. Our homes, wives and children are unquestionably safe in the presence of those hardy veterans without our being obliged to wickedly nullify the constitution of the state and subvert free government itself to keep up a standing army of mercenaries in time of peace.

By whose dictation was the national guard organized? Not by the will of the people of the United States. What farmer, what laborer, what mechanic of our country ever signed a petition to the legislature of any state asking for its establishment? This movement to destroy our liberties was born of a conspiracy of alien monopolists, to carry out their long contemplated purpose, so often and so insolently proclaimed through the venal metropolitan press of our country, to establish a "stronger government," here, that is to say, a military despotism. The organization is British in its origin—built up in obedience to the behests of English capitalists, owners of railroad bonds and stock in

American mines and manufactories, in order to keep in awe the wage workers of our country.

"But," it is asked, "are not the guards of our own sons?" At present the sons of many well meaning people, misapprehending the object of the institution, have, I admit, enrolled themselves—"enlisted for five years" in this "standing army of state regulars." Good soldiers know only obedience. The standing army of Germany is made up of the sons of the German people whom it holds in chains. The Indians (savages we call them) would have ever lived at peace with their white brethren, if the policy of William Penn toward them had been the policy of all our people—a policy of justice and equity; but the regular army has been to them, like Attila to the people of southern Europe of old—"the scourge of God." The national guard will, I verily believe, prove to be a *scourge of God* to the people of the United States, if not speedily disbanded, and the laws establishing it wiped from the statute books forever.

#### IV. NOBLE ENDS BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

The platform of principles of the Farmers' National Alliance of the United States, adopted by them in national convention last fall (1886) contains the following clause:

"*Resolved*, that the farmers, together with all other producers, should exert the political influence of their great numerical strength to thwart the increasing danger to the individual and public interests, which comes from the unrestrained greed of the influential Anarchists who defy law and trample upon the principles of justice in their methods of acquiring the wealth that others create, and the less influential, but more demonstrative Anarchists, who through speeches and dynamite boldly proclaim their contempt of law, order, human life and individual rights."

The farmers have a most correct opinion and idea of the sordid monopolists. "Influential" indeed they are, since presidents, and governors, congresses and legislatures stand ready to do their bidding. "Anarchists" indeed they are, because they expect by *violent means of organized armies*, and "conspiracy laws," to maintain their hateful supremacy over the people of the United States.

The dynamite bomb is the weapon of despair. American workmen have not reached the plane of despair yet. American workers of all classes still feel confident of their ability, through the medium of party organization, free speech, free ballot and a just and fair count of votes, to redeem their country from the rule of alien monopolists ("influential anarchists"), that have secured their present hateful, but I trust, temporary

supremacy over the American producers and laborers by hoodwinking the masses, through the agency of a venal party press and a system of wholesale corruption and bribery of party leaders, and to secure such reforms as our christian civilization and the social progress of the age demand. "Noble ends by peaceful means," is the voice of the native toilers of the United States. "Let no John Browns be hung, no martyr blood be shed under the forms of law," is, also, I believe, their unanimous decree.

#### V. THE DESIGNS OF MONOPOLY.

What the "influential anarchists" (monopolists) mean to do is no secret. The huge standing army of national guards, the bloodhounds of corporate tyranny, I call them, so stealthily organized by those heartless conspirators against democratic liberty, and that number to-day, in the several states of the Union, more than a quarter of a million of well drilled and superbly armed and gorgeously equipped soldiers, is intended solely, by those conspirators, to be used to silence the just demands of the workers for higher wages and shorter hours of labor, to prevent social progress, to stop intellectual advancement by means of compulsion.

A United States "encampment" (convention) of officers of the national guard of the several states of the Union was held at Washington in December, 1885. A press dispatch says: "General Hartman made a speech, in which he cautioned cautious action, so as not to arouse opposition." Does not this go to show that the secret building up and strengthening of this gigantic military power, is a movement, not of the people, but of a class? "Cautious action, so as not to arouse opposition" of whom? The people, of course. The same dispatch goes on to say, "The committee appointed to draft a bill for presentation to congress for the benefit of the national guard, submitted a message proposing an appropriation by the national government of a million dollars annually, and providing for its expenditure for equipments, ammunition, tents, ordnance stores; and camp equipage, to be distributed only among the uniformed militia (national guard) of the several states." This is significant when we consider that, even in freedom-loving Iowa, the real militia, the people are forbidden by law to "parade, drill or appear in procession, with arms in their hands, without license of the governor, except," says the code, that "members of benevolent organizations may wear swords."

A facetious newspaper editor, the late J. M. Dixon, of Des Moines, repeatedly, through the local columns of the *Iowa Citizen*, in the early days of Iowa's history, used to "most respectfully and humbly petition the legislature of the

state," to pass a law "for the protection of dogs against the ravages of sheep." Plainly the national guard was instituted to protect the monopolists against the ravages of the people, else why are the people disarmed? But the "members of benevolent organizations may wear swords." So, possibly, without greatly endangering the thrones of the Cyclops (the huge corporation kings that rule America), the old Union soldiers domiciled in Iowa, sixty thousand strong, members of grand army posts, (a "benevolent organization,") have been condescendingly granted, by the grace of the monopolists, the "privilege" of "wearing swords," but the guns, that in their hands saved the life of the republic, they may not, even on the Fourths of July, or the anniversaries of the great victories won by their valor, legally carry "without license of the governor;" while the red-eyed and bloody-mouthed dogs of the corporations, the national guard, because of their carefully sharpened teeth, whetted expressly to tear the flesh of workingmen, women and little children, were looked upon "with pride" by a former executive of our state; for in his biennial message of 1884, Governor Sherman says: "I am proud of the national guard. Their correctness in drill and in all the maneuvers of field and garrison can scarcely be equaled by veteran troops, compelling even the warm endorsement of officers of the United States army."<sup>\*</sup>

While our worthy governor may have fancied he saw in the superb organization and drill of our Praetorian guard, good reason for pride on his part, it may be a good reason for a very different feeling on the part of a liberty-loving people, jealous of their rights, and remembering always that republics are never overthrown, except by military power. I suppose that the colonial governor of Massachusetts, General Gage, in 1775, could, and perhaps did, give to the British ministry the same reasons why he was "proud" of the brigades encamped on Boston Common. But Otis and Warren, and Adams, and Hancock, and Putnam, and the other proscribed patriots of that day, did not see it in the same light with the governor of Massachusetts.

They did not like to be pushed and shoved about with the butts of muskets and the points of bayonets, though the Redcoats were "correct in drill and in all the maneuvers of field and garrison,"—the question being not "are they correct in drill?" but, *why are they drilled?*—and that is the question now before the people of America.

I understand that the Secretary of

<sup>\*</sup>The Pennsylvania guard "have the same uniform as the regular army, the same muskets and the same discipline, and Pennsylvania could send very good soldiers; to the field in twenty-four hours fit to be brigaded with regulars.—GEN. W. T. SHERMAN.

War at Washington (1889) has offered to furnish every college that will organize a company of guards (of monopoly) a Gatling gun and a hundred and fifty repeating rifles. Unfortunately, "strikers" are usually too poor to give their sons a "college education," hence "college boys" are presumed to be excellent material for an army ready and willing to shoot into crowds of "strikers," and put down so-called "labor riots." Any organized protest of wage workers against enslavement, is considered by the monopolists a "labor riot," to be suppressed by force of arms.

The workers of our country to-day are proscribed by king monopoly, as those elder patriots were by the king of England. We have had proscription enforced, too, in Iowa already, at the bayonets' point, by the well drilled minions of corporate tyranny—the national guard. How long has it been since the Adjutant-General of this state took a detail of those guards, musket loaded, bayonets fixed, without mandate of court or requisition of sheriff, obeying a purely dictatorial decree of a misguided state executive, and with sledge-hammer battered down an office-door in the state capitol at Des Moines, and "at the point of the bayonet," dispossessed of his office a one-armed state official, (Hon. J. L. Brown), elected by the people; and that, too, after the judge of the circuit court, (Judge Conner), had affirmed the legal right of the official to hold his office,—as great a political crime, on the part of the governor of Iowa, I contend, as that which cost Charles First his crown and head; but which the rash governor of our state could not and would not have attempted to commit, except from the prompt seconding of the "Second Alexander" with his invincible "guard."

The difference between autocratic and popular government, I understand, to be this, viz: An autocrat may issue his ukase and the military stands ever ready to enforce it; while neither the president of the United States nor the governor of any state may legally issue a decree, in peace or war, to be enforced by military power; except in districts where, in time of actual war, military law has in due form superseded the civil, as when Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation; because the military is declared by the constitution of the United States, and of each of the states, "subordinate to the civil power."

## VI. "LOOKING AFTER LEGISLATION."

But has the huge army of mercenary tools of corporate despotism—the national guard of the several states—any disposition to go farther than to enforce, with the bayonet, the unlawful decrees of corporation-controlled state executives, and, through them, the decrees

of foreign syndicates, resolved upon the destruction of democratic government and the enslavement of labor the world over—and especially resolved upon holding the agriculturists of North America tributary forever to the Rothschilds and Barings—the gold barons of Europe? Two hundred and fifty thousand well armed and well drilled soldiers in this day of railroads and telegraphs, may become dangerous to popular liberty, (we might reasonably fear), if they, as an army, in their organized capacity, presumed to “look after legislation at Washington.” We know why Cæsar crossed the Rubicon and destroyed the republic of Rome. His soldiers took it into their heads to “look after legislation” at the capital. It was the same with Cromwell’s army, and the same with the army of Napoleon the First. But what do our two hundred and fifty thousand national guards in wolf-like innocence purpose to do? Is there no danger threatened to popular liberty by them? Are they not taking gigantic strides toward the subversion of republican government itself? I see that guard, an ugly snake coiled in the grass. I hear its warning rattle when working-men are being slaughtered by the discharge of repeating rifles in the hands of those mercenaries—its hateful head raised high in air, its mouth wide open showing its poison fangs ready to strike deep into the flesh of the unsuspecting commonwealth.

Read, O patriots of America, the following quotations, and ponder their significance. I copy from the “Iowa Review,” the organ of the Iowa guard. The April number of 1884, says: “The fourth convention of the national guard association, of which adjutant general W. L. Alexander is secretary, was held at Cincinnati, March 26th and 27th, and was well attended, *there being fifteen states represented.*”

The national guard of the several states of the Union is, then, being united into an immense “trust” so that concurrent action, I assert, may be had by them in any great movement they may conclude to make against the liberties of the people,—and history plainly proves that such a final movement will be made by the military power just as sure and as soon as it becomes strong enough in any nation, and well disciplined enough, to make the establishment of a military despotism seemingly practicable. In short, history declares that the army will govern if it can; nor will our “state regulars” prove to be an exception to the rule, nor will they scruple, when the time to strike arrives, to wade through a sea of blood to accomplish their purpose, as did the Roman legions under Antony, Lepidus and Cæsar. Now is a dark day of “trusts” and “rings;”—and a huge “army trust,” “ring” or consolidated organization

means the enslavement of the unarmed many. It bodes no good to democratic liberty.

The Review further enlightens us, as to the immediate object of the guard in perfecting a national organization, when it says:

“On motion of General Alexander, a committee of five was appointed to look after legislation at Washington.”

Two hundred and fifty thousand armed guards in the American Union “as well drilled as regulars,” holding political conventions and working to build up their power and strength through legislation—lobbying in the halls of Congress—working with a single purpose in view—the building up of an army under any and subject to the control of the corporate money power of the nation, urged on and directed by London bankers, are a most dangerous menace to democratic liberty, I declare. And their dangerous purpose is here openly avowed in plain English. If the Union army during the rebellion had appointed, through its officers, a committee to “look after legislation at Washington,” what would have been its significance? Revolution. Can the patriot, jealous of his liberty, see any other design and end than revolution in such threatening action by the powerful national guard of America? I think not.

Again the Review says: “Quite a lengthy discussion was had on holding an encampment at Washington; but it was laid over till next meeting, as was also a code of the United States.”

The national guard is not, therefore, just a local militia organization, as the people vainly imagine; but a great military power near akin to the regular army—compactly organized with a “code of the United State.” It is a vast, compact, selfish, mercenary “trust” with repeating rifles in their hands, as well as ballots, with which to enforce their decrees. The Review declares:

“General Drum, adjutant general of the United States at Washington, favors the encampment of regular troops with the national guards, and is waiting with much interest the efforts of the guards throughout the state, and he in company with the secretary of war, and other prominent officials, are expected to be present at the encampment at Dubuque, as that will be a special part of the programme.”\*

\*Washington, Nov. 8, 1887,—[Associate Press Dispatch.]—Adjutant General Drum, in his annual report to the secretary of war, states that the steadily increasing interest manifested by the militia of the states is evidenced by the high percentage of attendance at the annual encampments and the generally excellent military spirit of the troops. With the liberal increase of appropriations made at the last session of congress it is earnestly hoped that the state military authorities will be increased in the allowance of ammunition, foster and develop the efficiency of the rank and file in target firing. He recommends the

So, then, we have an immense organization of well-drilled soldiers, holding national conventions (congresses), united under a "code of the United States" of their own enactment, "inspected" by regular army officers, and "looking after legislation at Washington," with the ballot in the one hand and the Springfield repeating rifle in the other—moving of its own motion, like a great, wriggling, uneasy reptile, lean and hungry—capable, willing and ready to descend upon any quarter of the Union in a few hours at the command of its officers—a hydra of two hundred and fifty thousand heads, that must be slain or liberty speedily perish.

The millions of farmers and wage workers of America will soon be compelled to see, and to their sorrow acknowledge, what I most clearly see now, and would have all patriots and lovers of liberty see before it is too late to be remedied, that the government and the people of our country have become in fact, and (if our army of national guards,—"state regulars"—remain a fixed institution), will continue to be two *distinct, different and antagonistic things*, as in Russia, Egypt, India and Ireland—the government a despotism and the people slaves.

#### VII. "IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS."

Colonel Dodge, of the United States Regular Army, was lately commissioned by the authorities of the state of Iowa to "inspect" the Iowa national guard, and in his report to the adjutant general of our state significantly says:

*"For the use to which the Iowa national guard is likely to be put within the next few years, battalion organization and drill in battalion movements are of paramount importance."*

What imaginable rebellion of wage slaves, or uprising of the "dangerous" agriculturists, I ask, is likely to occur "in the next few years," in the peaceful and liberty-loving state of Iowa, where reside to-day sixty thousand Union veterans of the late war, that renders of "paramount importance" battalion organization and drill in battalion movements of this mercenary band of so-called "national guards?" But manifestly the only "use" to which this trained Prætorian band of *quasi* regulars is likely to be put in the "next few years,"—if the wishes of the "lords of cash," who work the wage slaves, should be carried out, as the wishes of the "lords

establishment, during each encampment of officers, a school for instruction in battalion drill and organization and post. He also suggests the advantage of holding weekly, during the winter months, a non-commissioned officers' school and for instructors, young officers of the regular army who could be spared during the winter to report to the adjutant generals of the states on application of the governors.

of the lash," who worked the chattel slaves, were carried out by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, April, 1861, and that renders of "paramount importance *battalion organization and drill in battalion movements*," is war and only war.

Than war what other purpose of "paramount importance," in the name of Liberty, I ask, can any one conceive an army to exist for of six regiments, well drilled in the use of the murderous engines of modern batchery of human beings, including the Gatling gun, and at a cost to the peace-loving people of Iowa of many thousands of dollars annually—the constitution of the state to the contrary notwithstanding.

Our six regiments, filled up to the maximum contemplated in the Iowa code, would cost the state (as their legal pay now is) 6,000 men (privates) each \$1.50 per diem, six days drill yearly—

Two years.....	\$108,000
One suit each uniform clothing, \$25.00 per suit.....	150,000
Pay of officers, transportation and rations, probably not below.....	25,000
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Total biennial cost to the people of the state would aggregate about..... \$283,000

And this in the face of a positive constitutional prohibition of the "keeping up of a standing army in time of peace," and which means that to pay even one cent to "keep up" an army in time of peace is unlawful. The enemies of popular liberty, I declare, expect to be able to put a stop to "industrial discontent," not by doing justice to the workingmen and farmers, but by bloodshed—not by removing the cause of the discontent by equitable laws, but by shooting the discontented with Gatling guns and repeating rifles in the hands of mercenary guards, detectives and policemen.

That is unquestionably the programme of the employers of labor on this continent in their dealings with the workingmen and farmers, since already, time and again, they have dipped their hateful hands in the blood of our workers, men, women and children, as it is of the Tories of Great Britain in their cruel dealings with the Irish peasantry. It is the same on both sides of the sea; and no worse in Ireland than is contemplated and practiced now right here. There, it is true, the mischief is proposed openly in advance by the Queen in her "speech" to parliament, while here it is planned secretly by corporation attorneys. There the voters, especially those of Ireland, are not hoodwinked and betrayed into kindling the fagots to cremate themselves, because the leaders of the people in that country, as a class, are honest and patriotic; here they are

hoodwinked and betrayed into kindling the fagots to cremate themselves because party leaders in this country, as a class, are dishonest and unpatriotic, having sold their loyalty to the corporations.

All the great legal learning and talent of this nation, as a rule, are retained and held in pay by the railroad, manufacturing, mining, banking, standard oil, and cattle ranch associations of foreigners in the United States, and thus the interests of our commonwealth are made subordinate to the interests of alien monopolists in the legislature, on the judicial bench, and in the executive chair of both state and nation, because lawyers have ever held, do still hold, and they yet expect always to be able to hold, continuous control of the three branches of the government, they being the law makers, the law judges and the law exécutors—practically the arbiters of the public liberty, prosperity and peace—the broken staff upon which, unfortunately, the people of our country are seemingly forced to lean and totter to their fall. De Tocqueville warned the people of America, long ago, of the danger of entrusting too much power in the hands of lawyers. No man can be a corporation attorney, I declare, and be a patriot at the same time. He will either hate his country and love the corporation, or he will love the corporation and despise his country—serving Mammon, he cannot serve God, since he cannot at the same time serve two masters.

The "rich man" in authority, be he Irish landlord or Anglo-American railroad, mining, or factory baron, blinded by avarice and inflated with egotism, learns nothing by experience or from history; but goes madly forward to reenact the bloody tragedies of the barbarous times, vainly invoking the Moloch of coercion and war in his frantic efforts to put a period to the social progress of the age—to extinguish the electric torch in the hand of the Angel of Liberty Enlightening the World. Thus in so short a time as a quarter of a century do we see history about to repeat itself—like causes producing inevitably like effects.\*

#### VIII. THE CLIMAX OF POLITICAL VIL-LAINY.

A bill lately passed the plutocratic senate of the United States to "nationalize the militia" as a remedy, says an associated press dispatch, "for industrial discontent."† So the secret conspirators against American liberty have

\*"An evil day is approaching when it becomes recognized in a community that the only standard of social destination is wealth. That day was soon followed in Rome by its unavoidable consequence, a government founded upon two domestic elements, corruption and terrorism.—"Intellectual Development of Europe."—DRAPEAU.

finally reached the climax of their villainy. If this accursed measure should become law, the period of anarchy and civil war would, I fear, be immediately upon us with all of its horrors. Workers will be shot down like dogs for daring to hold hold up their heads like men. This most abominable, most wicked law, places in the hands of the employers of labor the control of the central military power of the nation, so that they may say to the workers: "Accept the wages we please to give you or die." That is manifestly the purpose and aim of the law. Millions of liberty-loving men and women, when this alternative is forced upon them, will willingly prefer death to slavery. Patrick Henry's burning words of defiance to the tyrant king, "Give me liberty, or give me death,"—will become the watchword and war cry of the toilers of America, as they were of our forefathers—

"The hardy Continentals in their buckskin regiments!"—

and the war of Revolution will have to be fought over again, or American liberty be forever at an end. The wicked design of the authors of this bill is to transfer to the United States permanently the British methods of coercion applied in Ireland for seven centuries.

It is, in my opinion, the most wicked act of tyranny ever attempted on this continent since the landing of the British regulars at Boston in 1768; for then will the national guard have become what its name implies—"national." The Iowa guard will be subject to the call of monopoly to coerce the workers in the mines and workshops of Pennsylvania, or New York, or upon the sugar plantations of Louisiana, or the cotton fields of South Carolina,—and the guards of Pennsylvania, New York, Louisiana, South Carolina and the other states, north and south, will be subject to the call of monopoly to coerce the workers in the mines, factories, workshops, etc., of Iowa.

#### IX. IS MONOPOLY KING?

Why are there not peaceful courts instituted in this corporation-cursed land to arbitrate between employers and employed? Is it right to have the military enforce the mandate of King Gould and King Armour any more than it was that of King George the Third? Why are they not as promptly and freely employed to enforce the mandate of the workers? As long as King Gould and King Armour can rely upon governors, and sheriffs, mayors and city marshals,

†It passed the millionaire senate, but failed of a sage in the more patriotic House. God bless the House of Representatives, I say, for their most praiseworthy act. May it and the president, who is the "tribune of the people" according to the design of the authors of the Federal Constitution, stand true to the ancient liberties bequeathed us by Jefferson and Washington.

national guards, armed policemen and Pinkerton's hireling band of professional murderers and assassins, to promptly and eagerly respond to their call, and with alacrity enforce their ukase, as they do now, does any one presume that the monopolists will consent that any "court" shall be instituted to settle strikes, other than the bayonet, bullet and Gatling gun?

Is it not a horrible condition of affairs when we behold the bloody array of armed man, woman and child-killers placed by the state and (soon it will be) by the national authorities, in the hands of the employers of labor, to be used by them as a huge war-club with which to literally brain the workers who dare to look up from their tasks or utter a word of manly protest against the tyranny of their greedy task-masters? The whole capitalistic newspaper fraternity lift up their bribe-soiled hands in feigned terror of Herr Most and his crazy followers; but the real danger to the peace of society threatens, it appears to me, not from the side of the common people, be they Anarchists, Nihilists, Socialists, Nationalists, Labor party men, Democrats or Republicans; but from the side of the monopolists, with their diabolical array of paid attorneys, judges and legislators, sheriffs and mayors, governors and presidents, armed policemen and Pinkerton's band of Hessians, the national guard, and (it will soon be, if the people do not awaken in time to prevent it) the *United States regulars*, standing ever ready to execute the monopolists' decrees.

But it is evident to my mind that the employers of labor would be glad to have instituted peaceful courts of arbitration, if governors, sheriffs, mayors, city marshals, etc., would say to them, as they ought (and as they *must* shortly say, if I do not mistake the true feeling of the American people), "we can pay no attention to your quarrels with your men, except to arrest those who actually break the peace by open acts of violence." The workers will never resort to violence unless under the same, or similar provocations, that existed in Boston when Attucks fell. Let us (the farmers, mechanics, and laborers of America), loudly demand then, that the quarrels of employers with their hands be hereafter referred to courts of arbitration for settlement, and not to military power.

Who have the greater weight in the politics of Illinois, Mr. Armour with his money, or his twenty thousand workers with their votes? If one rich man weighs more than twenty thousand toilers in our political system, then how long will even the shadow of freedom remain with the people of our country, in the presence of our many millionaires, twenty-five of whom (possessing, it is said, one hundred and sixty million dollars—an

average of six million dollars apiece), now occupy seats in the United States senate—seats that their superior talents or their distinguished patriotism never secured for them, and that never would have been theirs, I am safe in saying, if they had been men of moderate fortunes, like Webster, or Clay, Douglas, or Thurman.

The people of our country seem powerless in the presence of the moguls of wealth. What has been the fate of their truest and mightiest champions? The wealthy monopolist displaces by bribery the life-long patriot and honest man. Payne, the millionaire, who, like Caesar's wife, is not (to say the least), in character above suspicion, supercedes Thurman, the incorruptible statesman, irreproachable patriot, but poor man—poor because honest.

The fate of Mr. Van Wyck of Nebraska, may be pointed to as a striking proof of the truth that monopoly in our country reigns king to-day. Disregarding the people's clearly spoken will, the American tyrant proscribes and ruthlessly strikes down to death the defenders of popular rights. To reach political preferment along any other path than that of betrayal of the people is impossible in this corrupt day. Patriotism is at a discount. Talent is feared and boycotted, unless it can be bribed with gold into the service of corporate tyranny. The people's eyes have been put out by the Philistines of monopoly, and they are placed under the yoke like cattle, and made to turn the wheel of the monopolists' mill.

All bad government may be traced directly to monopolistic sources of corruption. By means of monopolies an aristocracy of wealth has been built up among us, undreamed of by our fathers. The monopolists dwell in palaces and revel in riches extorted from the farmers and laborers through the agency of corrupt legislation. Equality of fortune being thus destroyed, equality of rights has been destroyed also. The "people" who instituted this government have no longer any voice in its administration. The black toilers of the southern states are no more deprived of a voice in the government of those states and of the nation than are the white toilers of the northern states, (farmers, mechanics and laborers), practically deprived of a voice in the government of state and nation to-day. The multitudes that go to the polls to vote are merely enacting a farce. The result of the election has been pre-determined in favor of the monopolists by an association (ring), formed to control through a secret system of chicanery nominations of candidates of all political parties, to the end that the interests of the monopolists may not suffer, and that the said monopolists, through the instrumentality of corrupt legislative enactments, may become millionaires.

## X. THE CENTENNIAL RETROSPECT.

What, then, is the retrospect in the centennial year of the creation of the American constitution? It is that the constitution of government established by the fathers one hundred years ago is *in fact inoperative to-day*. In form the government is indeed the same now as then; but practically it is different. The same form of government was kept up in Rome, under Octavius Cæsar; in the consulate of Maecenas, as under the republic, in the consulate of Pompey. But the governing power of the Roman republic had passed out of the hands of the Roman people into the hands of a military commander,—the emperor. The governing power of the American republic has certainly and clearly passed, temporarily, let us hope and pray, out of the hands of the American people into the hands of corporation kings—so-called "Capitalists." And the capitalists that exercise the most potent, most baleful influence over American politics, reside in London. We are governed by the money power of the old world. Bonds and mortgages beyond the enormous sum of twenty thousand millions of dollars, secured by a gigantic steal, a fraudulent monetary system, dictated by foreign syndicates of money-lenders, have engulfed the property of the people of the United States. The national banking system, imposed upon us by foreign usurers, places the circulating medium of our country under the direct control of British money lords, to be contracted and expanded by them as may best serve their hateful purpose, which is to confiscate the property of the American producers, whom they design to hold in everlasting bondage. The control of legislation, national and state, by corporate wealth, backed by British gold, during the past twenty years of our country's history, has been absolute, and hence, during that period, the confiscation of the property of the American many by the few British agents, has gone forward with increasing rapidity.

But let us now declare, corporate greed has clutched its last dollar, and the chains Britain has forged for the American producers shall be broken link by link. British intrigue and greed shall no longer triumph over American manhood. The American people must reassert and regain their lost authority—must take hold of the reins of government once more, displacing the agents of foreign syndicates.

## XI. LABOR'S MODEST DEMAND.

A just share of the proceeds of industry, assured to the workers, is all that is demanded by organized labor the world over; and to forcefully and guilefully seize upon and appropriate to their own luxurious use the proceeds of industry,

allowing the workers to retain only enough of those proceeds for their bare subsistence, is what is aimed at by organized capital the world over, while organized capital to-day controls all governments, and is the prime cause of all discords and all wars. There is no other quarrel among men now, and there never has been any other quarrel in the past, than that of the wolf with the lamb. Look at Egypt, look at India, look at Ireland for confirmation of this truth that all history bears me out in asserting.†

There is but one side to the labor question, and that is the side of the laborers. There is but one duty before the American people (and before every other people), and that is to afford every man and woman a fair chance to earn a living by honest toil.

But no final, complete and satisfactory adjustment of the labor question can be reached under the wage system of industry. We must have co-operative labor universally in operation before harmony can be attained. This the whole American people must take hold of to establish. It will require a national effort to set up the new system of industry, as it took a national effort to break down chattel slavery.

Let that effort be put forth under the starry ensign of "peace and good will," as it will be, if the people be not forced against their better judgment and most earnest protest, into a bloody war once more, by the rashness of the enemy (the Anglo-American Anarchists of Wall Street), as they were by the rashness of General Gage at Lexington, April 19, 1775, and of Beauregard at Charleston, April 12, 1861. The hateful national guard, armed policemen and armed detectives, must not be marshaled by alien monopolists to shoot down our people,

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†From 1563 to 1834 a conspiracy concocted by law and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope and to degrade him into irredeemable poverty. \* \* \*

For more than two centuries and a half the English law, and those who administered the law, were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out every expression or act which indicated any organized discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights. I am not deceived by the hypocrisy which the preamble of an Act of Parliament habitually contains, and the assertions which are habitually contradicted by the details of the measure. The Act of Elizabeth declares that "the wages of laborers are too small, and not answerable to those times;" and speaks of the "grief and burden of the poor laborer and hired man," and thereupon enacts a law which effectually makes the wages small and multiplies the laborer's grief and burden, by allowing those who are interested in keeping him poor to fix the wages on which he shall subsist and to exact a testimonial from his past employers and the overseers or church wardens when he quitted a service, which he had to show before he entered another.—Six Centuries of Work and Wages.—ROGERS.

any more, and the diabolical design to coerce the workers into permanent slavery and destroy the freedom of assembly, and the right of free speech must be given up by the enemy, else, before we are aware, and in spite of our most

earnest endeavors for peace, the Lexington of this contest will be fought and we shall find ourselves plunged headlong into the bloody vortex of the *Third American Revolutionary War of Freedom and Independence.*

### ESSAY III.—WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

#### I. LET US HAVE PEACE.

The right of revolution conceded, is it not reasonable to say that if the workmen will not vote unitedly for their interests, they can never be brought to fight unitedly for their rights? If now they can be coerced by their employers, or cajoled by party leaders, to vote on the side of monopoly, they can certainly be conscripted by the government to fight on the side of monopoly. The poor whites of the south were cajoled and forced to fight for the cause of chattel slavery, which they ought to have known (if they did not know), meant their everlasting degradation. The workers would better do as they do now, vote against each other than to fight against each other. But the producers that toil in workshop, in factory, on farm, on railroad, in mine, etc., etc., can (if they will), unite for peaceful action in favor of their common interests and rights, as did the Patrons of Husbandry in 1871, and through united, peaceful action, the triumph of labor is assured. What has been done on no insignificant scale by the farmers may be done on a still grander scale by all the producers and laborers of America united. Already the great Labor Unions, Federations of Labor, Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliances, etc., assure for the workers, at this moment, victory almost won. There must be a united effort of all toilers to release, through the ballot, from the grasp of monopoly, the three essentials, land, tools and money. This done, labor will be emancipated. "*Free soil, free tools, and free money,*" must be inscribed on the people's banner, as their first and most essential demand.

I place the emancipation of labor in free soil, free tools and free money. What is free soil? It is the common ownership of the land. What is free tools? It is the common ownership of the tools of production. What is free money? It is the common ownership of the medium of exchange. The common ownership of land, tools and money will give to each individual like interest in them, like advantage from them and like control of them. No land kings, no manufacturing kings, no money kings; but *co-operation* will be the law. The private ownership and control by the few of the three essentials—land, tools and money—is the cause of the disharmony and poverty that afflicts the

world to-day, yea, the sole, the only cause.

Despair of the ballot is despair of popular government. We lose sight of the fact that it was not the emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln that freed the chattel slaves, neither was it the bayonets of the Union militia. It was the popular vote of November, 1860, that freed them. The south was right in saying, "The election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency means the ultimate extinction of negro slavery." The south was wrong, fatally wrong, in taking up arms to resist the mandate of the ballot. "Republicans of the old school," (as they professed themselves), "disciples of Thomas Jefferson," they ought to have said, to be consistent, "the ballot decides it. Revolt against the mandate of the ballot, is revolt against democracy itself. It is saying, 'government by the people is a failure.' It is to trample upon the sacred writings of the prophet of Monticello, the writings of Thomas Jefferson himself, whom all must regard as the direct author of American liberty and equality, he being the author of the Declaration of Independence of 1776."

#### II. THE BEST GOVERNMENT ON EARTH.

The American government to-day, though dominated, as it is by monopoly—the people hoodwinked and misled by "false lights on the shore," is, with all its short-comings, the best government that the sun shines upon—or that it ever has shone upon—and its growth to ripeness and maturity is the only hope of mankind. Every true American would give his life to save his government—the "constitution as it is," before he would despair of the ballot and open the door to bloody revolution.

Framed by Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, and the other great statesmen of the immortal convention of 1787, it has met the requirements of the American people for one hundred years, and has stood the strain of the most formidable rebellion ever known. The federal constitution remains still the greatest instrument of government the world has ever seen. It will never be superceded; but, like the locomotive engine, it will be perfected. When my voice or my pen shall deride it, "may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand be palsied."

I will, if need be, defend the constitution against the assaults of the enemies of American liberty with my blood and my life. I will guard it with sleepless vigilance against the attacks of alien egotists who come among us to proclaim their contempt for it and to offer us a "better system of government," devised by some Teutonic theorist in his study, which, if tried in practice, would, no doubt, prove to be as unsatisfactory and impracticable as was the constitution of the Carolinas framed by the English metaphysician, John Locke. The reforms advocated by my pen may all be brought about without any alteration of our fundamental laws. I believe in evolution, but not in revolution.

We will, in the future, change the constitution wherein it needs to be changed, to adapt it to the most advanced ideas and demands of the majority, by suitable amendments, as we have done in the past. But woe to him who would propose to destroy the sacred instrument by bloody war! We will make the constitution "what it ought to be" by peaceful and gradual changes wrought by fair and free discussion—free speech, free assembly, free press and free pen being a sacred and essential pre-requisite to all reform, the will of the people to be finally declared only by and through the ballot. Has not the patriotic American gone far astray who advocates Anarchism as a remedy for existing evils? "For twenty years," says one, "we have had the ballot and the country has gone from bad to worse. What remedy has the ballot brought to repeal these infamous laws, to help the people's distress, to help the farmers to pay their debts for which nine-tenths of the farms of the country are mortgaged? I repeat, is there any prospect that the ballot will serve us better in the future? How can it be done? How will we use the ballot to make it effective to restore the prosperity of the country?"

The above questions have been seriously propounded through the columns of a great industrial periodical of this country, by a profound thinker and able writer. It may be proper to ask the distinguished questioner, in reply, whether any great and important measure has ever been passed by our government, leading directly on to the present mammoth growth of monopoly and the impoverishment of the many that the people have not at least tacitly assented to—let alone opposing it? Does he complain of the donation by congress of lands to railroad corporations? Has not this policy been advocated by all prominent American statesmen beginning with John C. Calhoun? Does he complain of land monopoly? The people have always upheld the right of individuals and corporations to own lands without limitation. Does he complain of the national banking system? A

majority of the people of the United States have not, since Jackson's day, expressed themselves decidedly hostile to national banks. Who, then, is to blame for the monopolies that oppress us? The people. But ought we, on that account, and to remedy the evils complained of, abolish popular government? I think not. What then should we do? *Enlighten the people.* The people do the best they know. That is the best that can be done. Water cannot rise higher than the fountain-head; and the people cannot do better than they know. Though omnipotent, they, unfortunately, are not omniscient. Great interests by controlling the press, hoodwink the voters.

This is the friction that must be overcome as the world moves on. But it will be overcome. Truth will triumph. The right will ultimately prevail. We (writer and reader both), may grow old and die it is true, and so too, "this generation may pass away," and the end be yet far off—the people be yet enslaved by false systems. But civilization is always seemingly of slow growth. African slavery existed two hundred and forty-three years in the United States and the nation was bullied and dominated for many decades by a few slave-lords, as now it is dominated by a few money lords. But African slavery passed away and with it the domination of the slave lords. How? By revolution? No. By the advance of public sentiment. It was overthrown by the ballot. But do you say "the popular will was enforced by the sword?" True it was. How, I ask, is any law enforced as a *last resort*? By the civil *posse comitatus*—the militia—called out as were the "boys in blue." They enforced the popular voice expressed at a national election in 1860, in favor of the ultimate downfall of chattel slavery in the United States. It was only an ordinary proceeding of free government when the laws are set at defiance. Let the important fact be ever borne in mind, then, that though monopoly hold the reigns for a time, yet above all and forevermore, the voice of the people is, and will be henceforward, the law of this land.

And the same may be said to-day of every European nation, Russia, Turkey and Ireland seemingly excepted—*seemingly*, for it is more than Great Britain is able to do to govern the people of Ireland. They must be allowed "home rule," because civilization has reached that level. The Irish people can no longer be governed. They must govern themselves. And the Czar of Russia will not much longer "govern by his ukase all the Russias." Poor Turkey is too, a subject nation, but like Ireland, her emancipation will come bye and bye and her people universally rule, as now the people rule in her ex-provinces of Greece, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania.

But do we yet ask in our impatience, "How long, O Lord, how long!" Will it take two hundred and forty-three years of discords and stubborn strikes leading to countless massacres of workmen by mercenary detectives, armed policemen and national guards, at the instigation of merciless wage slave-masters, before wage slavery shall come to an end in our country, and the rights of property be forever subordinated to the natural rights of man? Every form of oppression destroys human feeling in the hearts of those who profit by it. The wage slave-masters would certainly lash, lacerate, torture and kill their helpless and despised slaves with as little feeling, if they dared to do so, as the chattel slave-masters of America did their slaves, and as the merciless Spaniards did the natives of Cuba and Hayti. They gratify now their hellish hate of the wage-slaves by means of Gatling guns and repeating rifles in the hands of detectives, policemen and national guards, organized, armed and paid for no other purpose but to coerce labor.

I believe that the so-called Anarchist proclamations "printed in red ink" and scattered broad-cast—the planting of dynamite bombs along the railroad track of the C. B. & Q. line, etc., etc.,—which afford monopoly a fulcrum for the application of the coercion lever, whittled out by the legislature of Illinois, for the benefit of wage slave-masters, are all "machinery," like that the poets invent to set off their fiction, and that it is all manufactured to order for a price by the mercenary "detective" craftsmen—a secret clclave of bandits with head-center in a cave of skulls in Chicago.

I ask how long will this savagery of employers in the treatment of the employed continue before the people vote to establish the true system of labor—co-operative industry—to supercede and displace entirely and forever the barbarous wage system, building up co-operative labor associations on the same plan and by the same authority of national law as we have already built up over three thousand co-operative national banking associations, and all the vast establishment of railroad and manufacturing corporations of the United States? which are merely co-operative institutions organized to benefit the few. We (the people), have built up all those monopolies. How long before we, (the people), that built them up, shall pull them down and in their place establish co-operative industrial associations to benefit the many?\*

\*Incorporation is but a form of co-operation under the law. \* \* \* "Heretofore corporations have been organized mainly as the instruments of capital. Hereafter, as education becomes general, may not labor make like use of corporations? May not the wage receivers combine in their own interests and become incorporated under the law for peaceful and legal

### III. WHERE LIES THE BLAME?

But are the "monopolists," the "millionaires," the "wage slave masters," the "classes" (or whatever other odious names we may be pleased to call them by), inherently worse than other men? No; they are just exactly the same sort of men as we ourselves would be, in all probability, under the same circumstances, however mean, heartless, cruel and selfish they may seem. The wrong is not really in the individuals themselves, but in the institutions that beget the circumstances which determine individual action. "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers,"—so Paul said of old, and so, too, the reformer may truly say now. It is "institutions" that the reformer should endeavor to change and thus influence the action of men. Man is the creature of conditions.

The heroic Arctic explorers under Greeley, are reported to have been driven by the cravings of hunger to eat the flesh of their dead comrades—to become, in a word, cannibals. Such is the omnipotent force of surroundings. The varied surroundings are the chief causes of the varied actions of men. The "environment" fashions and shapes the character and acts of individuals in an infinite degree, as it has diversified vegetable and animal life. True, there exist inherent tendencies of mind and disposition, but these are reduced very frequently to naught by the surroundings. The impetuous river may, indeed, force its irresistible way onward toward the predestined gulf, though oft impeded in its course by the huge land-slides and mighty boulders that descend into its bed, or it may spread out and become a "Dead Sea." What would Humboldt have been if brought up among the root-digger Indians? He might have become a "big chief"—a "medicine man"—a great "prophet." He would not have been "Baron Von Humboldt, the great naturalist," it is clear. Familiar to every school boy are the lines of Gray:

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid  
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;  
Hands that the rod of empire might have  
swayed  
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.

But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,  
Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll;  
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of the soul."

Driven by the stress of unhappy surroundings, thousands of noble-minded young women become prostitutes, that under more happy circumstances and conditions would be honest wives and beloved matrons—tens of thousands of

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action, to do their work in a way that will bring them the largest return? This has not been done simply because of the want of education and intelligence."—"Industrial Question,"—S. B. ELKINS.

well-meaning young men become criminals—millions of willing workers become tramps and beggars. Look across a field of ripening wheat; all the heads seem on a level, like the water of a lake. So all human beings are as nearly on a common level in their actions under like circumstances. If it were not so, it were useless to drill men for the ranks of an army. Well drilled, the tens of thousands move as one person. So with well organized society, the many become one in action and sentiment.

#### IV. THE TENDENCY OF THE AGE.

It is to association and unity of endeavor society is tending. Mr. Patrick Ford in his magnificent journal, the *Irish World*, of Dec. 31, 1887, in an editorial article on the "Evidences of Evolution" says: "The reign of individual enterprise is being superceded by that of associated effort, in which the individual is lost sight of as an independent factor, and the greatest interests are represented by the index of an executive of a "trust" or "union." Great armies of wage workers, acting mechanically as a part of a huge system of machinery, take the place of the independent artisans of the past. The competition between individual employers and manufacturers has been removed by combination in which those who were formerly competitors now act as a unit. The most powerful interests in the country have caught the spirit of association and have so perfected their organization as to enable them, by acting as a single factor, to control the very necessities of life of the nation, to decide, by a vote of an executive board whether the means of livelihood shall be granted or denied to hundreds of thousands of families, whether the people shall pay one or two prices for the products of the harvest fields, or the fuel for the household. The wage workers of the country have not been indifferent observers of the inevitable tendency of this concentration of power in the hands of the employing interests, but have been banding together in a tremendous cosmopolitan organization, instead of the old, disconnected trade unions, for the purpose of presenting a united front against the encroachments of monopoly upon their individual rights. Thus we find all the various interests of the great commonwealth being rapidly reduced, as it were, to so many factors, each acting as a separate and definite unit, capable of adjustment with mathematical accuracy in the great equation of our social system."

Out of this must come what? Civil war? Possibly, if American statesmen are as blind to-day to the true situation of affairs as they were in 1860. The same question is presented to be answered now as then. "Shall the rights of man be subordinated to the rights of

property?" There can be no social harmony under the wagesystem of industry, because under it, the rights of man are unduly abased, and the rights of property are unduly exalted. Mr. Ford truly says:

"The extraordinary power which organization gives to the conflicting interests of employers and employed, makes an open rupture between those interests a national disaster, against which our present laws are entirely inadequate for the protection of the people. The tension of our social system is necessarily rendered more sensitive by the threatening attitude assumed by those powerful, organized forces, when controversies arise between them, and it is becoming daily more evident that unless measures be taken by the people to interpose their constitutional authority for the harmonizing of those ever-recurring disputes between the wage working and employing interests, that society will be constantly menaced by suspension of public business, interference with legitimate enterprise, and violations of the public peace, thus leading the trend of evolution in the direction of confusion and anarchy, rather than toward that scientific harmonizing of all interests under an equitable representative system, which should be the aim of all."

In the truly christian spirit in which that great journal is conducted, the editor concludes his lucid article as follows: "In the holiday season, during which people are accustomed to cherish the christian principles of fraternity and a common responsibility, the question of how best to meet the emergencies of the situation may be profitably studied by the statesmen of the country. The *Irish World* has sufficient confidence in the patriotism of our law-makers, directed by an intelligent public opinion, to believe that our evolution will be in the direction of security and harmony, notwithstanding the occasional clashing of powerful interests that mark its progress."

#### V. SELFISHNESS MUST BE DETHRONED.

The time will soon come, I anticipate, for the abolition of all wrong;—for the dethroning of Mammon and the enthroning of the "Righteous One." The people have become dissatisfied with the wage system of industry, because the substitution of machine for hand labor operates, under that system, to deprive labor of its equitable proportion of the increased wealth produced, capital absorbing the lion's share. And the laborer has become simply a part of the machinery of production, the capitalist claiming the right to direct his motions, and really, to own him, body and soul. He is a mere "operative"—to be used or discarded at the pleasure of the money-makers; and no more thought of, nor

any more essential to the "business" of the capitalists, than is a wooden cog in a mill wheel, nor even so much. If he work contentedly at the price set by his "boss" for his labor, all is well. If he "strike," why shoot him! If he beg he is a tramp, to be imprisoned for vagrancy. If he die, it is nothing, or, rather it is fortunate all round. Others will gladly fill his place. He is a mere tool. His human identity is lost. That is the condition of the laborer under the wage system. The reason of it is that "money" only is all, under that system, that business is run for. It is to "make money" that all machinery is put in motion—that all "capital" is employed; and it will be so as long as private capital shall continue to employ labor. Under the co-operative system of industry, on the contrary, private capital being eliminated as a factor from production, the object of human effort will not be to "make money"—to augment the fortunes of individuals, but to render all men, women and children comfortable and happy. The end will be philanthropic. Selfishness will be destroyed and in its stead, the *common good* will come forward as the only motive of human action. Public spirit and philanthropy will take the place of love of self.

But I agree with those who say that the condition of the common people is, on the whole, better to-day than it was one hundred years ago—better even than up to the time of the civil war. Farmers and wage workers dress better, live in better houses, which are better furnished, and they receive better wages. Oxen have ceased to plow the fields. All men are better off, but the rich are vastly richer. Are the poor poorer? I think not. The poorhouse itself is a home now; it was a hell then. The prisoner in his cell is better off now than one hundred years ago. The people have more freedom now than then. Imprisonment for debt has passed away. We would not submit now for a day to the conditions that then existed. They were vastly worse than now prevail.

What ails the world? It has advanced apace. There is dissatisfaction in Ireland, but the Irish people are not as poor as they once were. They are not suffering want as they once suffered. They live better than they once lived. But they have mentally advanced. Their minds are not greater perhaps, but they have received a new influx of ideas. All men have stepped upon a higher plane of civilization. The world is more enlightened than it ever was before. The printing press has done its part to bring about this result,—the telegraph its part,—the railroad its part. Mankind have outgrown old conditions. They have learned that all wealth is the pro-

duce of labor and mechanical skill.\* They are no longer content to see the few, who neither toil nor spin, clothed in the costly fabrics made by the hands and brains of the many who do toil and spin. They are not content to see those who produce nothing, millionaires, while those who produce all the wealth remain poverty stricken—the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" for an insolent, indolent, corrupt, sensual few, void of patriotism, void of honor, swollen with self-conceit and mad with greed. Too long have the few idle been bowed down to, worshipped and obeyed by the many industrious, as dogs cringe before their masters and whimper and whine at their feet, to be trod upon and ignominiously kicked out of the way of the "rich man clothed in purple and fine linen."

## VI. TRUTH INVINCIBLE.

It has taken nearly nineteen hundred years for the divine ideas of the Great Teacher whom the common people "heard gladly" to so lighten the minds of the many as to prepare them for an assertion of their inalienable rights universally in Christendom. Granite walls disintegrate, crumble and fall to pieces; but the ideas of Jesus are eternal and invincible, though invisible. Heaven and earth may pass away, but his word of truth will not pass away. Institutions are evanescent, compared with ideas—perishable bodies of which ideas are the imperishable souls. Let the soul depart, and the body hastily decomposes. Hence, I say, that existing institutions must pass speedily away, that give to capital the gross earnings of labor, leaving to the brawny toilers merely a tithe of the products of their own industry and skill—merely enough of the wealth produced to afford the wealth producers the coarsest food and the scantiest raiment—in a word, bare subsistence. The chattel slave holder gave his slaves even more abundantly of the means of living than the wage slave holder allows his slaves. Those twin "relics of barbarism" (chattel and wage slavery), are both outgrown and must soon become alike obsolete. Co-operation is inevitable. Everything must be carried on shortly by co-operative effort, that is now carried on by wage labor.

Civilization is a growth, an unfolding—like the growth of a tree—and the power that produces that growth or unfolding is omnipotent—the power of truth, or, in other words, the power of God; for God is truth. The work be-

\* What immense consequences we have derived from the very simple proposition that the wealth of the nations does not consist in wealth that cannot be consumed, such as gold and silver; but in consumable wealth produced by the incessant labor of society.

fore the reformer is, therefore, constructive and not destructive. Effete institutions, like our enemies, "will die of themselves if we let them alone." Institute co-operative labor universally and protective tariffs are at once outgrown. Institute the true system of finance and usury will die for want of something to feed upon. It is better to take away necessity than to say "Thou shalt not;"

Children well 'ed.  
Will not steal bread.

Here is the key to unlock the door of reform. All the evils, discords, and wrongs of society may be put an end to by applying a simple preventative—the Golden Rule put into law and crystallized into institution.† A small boy once, it is said, prevented the breaking of the great dyke that keeps the sea out of Holland, by inserting his little arm in the incipient leak. How easy that was done compared with the labor of pumping the sea out, if once the dyke was broken and the whole country deeply inundated. But the world is overflowed now, to a great depth, with the waves of selfishness. The flood will retire only at the bidding of him "Whom even the sea and waves obey"—but it will surely retire.

#### VII. EQUAL ADVANTAGES TO ALL.

Nothing new and untried (the reader must already have observed), is proposed in these unpretentious essays. The author only desires to see made of general application for the good of the many, a plan of co-operative effort that has already been in practical and successful operation for almost a quarter of a century in our country for the good of the few. It is a fact, well known and undisputed, that all companies and corporations chartered by the laws are essentially co-operative—railroad, bank, insurance, manufacturing, commercial, etc.

Let us extend, then, to the many the advantages of co-operative association now applied by the laws narrowly for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, and let us legislate always for the common benefit alone, so that all may have equal advantage of good laws, as it was designed they should

†The aggressive civilization of to-day, the one that will conquer the world and supercede all others, the one that has proved the best for man, and that has lifted him up to higher planes than any other, is that built upon and shaped by the teachings of Christ. The best thoughts of all the best thinkers and writers upon the industrial problem have found nothing equal to the words "love thy neighbor as thyself, do unto others as you would have them do unto you." All correct philosophy, all sound teaching and reasoning, conduct us unerringly to these simple truths, which combine in themselves every essential principle necessary to the solution of the industrial problem. A solution based upon these would abide, because it would be founded on simple justice between man and man.—"The Industrial Question."—ELKINS.

have by Washington and his compatriots who framed our democratic constitution of government one hundred years ago, and the people be thus enabled to retain possession of the wealth of products produced by their own industry and skill. In other words, more familiar and always acceptable to American ears, equal advantages to all and special privileges to none, is all that is demanded in these pages as necessary to the complete emancipation of labor in the United States, and the realization by the people of the equality of rights mentioned in the Declaration of American Independence, as the inalienable birthright of all.

The national banking institutions of our country, in their plan and method of establishment and support by the paternal bounty of the federal government, are recommended by the author of these pages to be taken as models for co-operative labor associations, to be built up, he insists, in precisely the same manner that the national banking associations of the United States have been built up, that is to say, by the general government,—no new principle to be introduced and no essential change in existing plans of association to be made by law—the government of the nation extending to the many workers no higher advantages, privileges, helps or "paternal benefits of legislation,"—and, indeed, no other "benefits" whatever, than have already been, from the day of their first organization during the civil war to the present time, extended by it to the national banking associations of rich money lending non-producers—agents of British gold-monopolists. But this is just what the few that have so long enjoyed those bounties and benefits will, it is to be feared, never permit to be extended to the many, if by any means, peaceful or otherwise, they may be able to prevent it. The few must have, they think, advantages under this government (organized to promote the general welfare) that the many may not enjoy. But the fight must be narrowed right down by the people to the following plain issue, viz: Shall the advantages now accorded by the law to the few be extended to the many as common benefits and rights. The people are sovereign, and no one has rightfully any prerogative or privilege that does not as rightfully belong alike to each and all, and no one can acquire any prerogative or privilege that is not of right common. And this extends to all benefits within the power of government to bestow. Let there be no monopoly that is not in accord with nature, as "The sweet, sweet love of daughter, of sister, and of wife."

#### VIII. THE "DANGEROUS ANARCHISTS."

But regarding the German Anarchists in this country, Gen. Wm. T. Sherman said to the editor of the *Christian Reg-*

ister of Boston, Mass., in an interview at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, during the time of the trial of Herr Most in that city for violent language reported by "detectives" to have been used by him, and for which he was afterwards sentenced to imprisonment for twelve months:

"I do not believe," the old soldier said, "there is much danger from the Anarchists in this country. There is so much freedom of expression in the United States. *That is our protection.* Let it have full swing; but try them and hang them when they practice violence." When asked, the editor says, "if he would have freedom of speech abridged in any way," he answered:

"We cannot have a sedition law in this country. Freedom of speech and of the press are guaranteed by the Constitution, and they had better be endured than to resort to remedies which are doubtful."

"Endure" the freedom of speech and of the press! "Endure" is a good word. It was evidently used by the patriotic old war veteran, who had fought so many brave battles for the Union and the constitution that the fathers gave us—it was evidently used by him as a sharpened shaft of irony. Freedom of speech and of the press to be "endured," so near the close of the nineteenth century! It is an excellent text from which to preach a sermon to the millionaire monopolists on "patience." "Freedom of speech and of the press are guaranteed by the constitution, and they had better be *endured* than to resort to remedies that are doubtful."

The General did study out a plan to beat Johnson and Hood, it is true, and he opened through Georgia, a line of march to the sea; but here, in New York he is at last balked. How to advise a plan of campaign by the millionaire barons of Wall street, to overcome this dreadful foe to the tyranny of monopolists—"freedom of speech and of the press," in the United States, is beyond the reach of the strategy of General Sherman! "They had better be endured!" he coolly advises those greedy and uneasy "rich men," than to "resort to remedies that are doubtful." There may be, (he evidently thinks), masked batteries in the line of march against those old entrenchments, thrown up by our venerable forefathers a hundred years ago, that might render "doubtful" any charge by those tyrants against the works.

#### IX. A VERY DANGEROUS CLASS.

The American millionaires have become cruel kings—heartless despots! They have put an end to the equilibrium produced by competition, utterly destroying competition, by combinations, trusts and "pools." To increase the price of products in their hands for sale,

they lessen production, closing the mines or shutting down the mills and factories, or procuring them to be shut down by large bribes to the owners. The proprietor of an oatmeal mill in Des Moines, I am credibly informed, is paid by an eastern syndicate a bribe of several thousand dollars per annum, not to run his mill. No thinking man will deny that there must be a reconstruction of systems of distribution of products. It will not do to allow syndicates of selfish millionaires to corner our bread and our meat, and control the prices of whatever is essential to human subsistence, comfort and convenience that has a market value, levying extortionate tribute upon us without our consent, as they do now. Our situation is a thousand times worse to-day, under the dominion of the millionaire monopolists of Wall street and Lombard street, than the worst that was feared by our fathers, if George Third had succeeded in conquering America. The British king did not propose to set the price on all we have to sell and all we have to buy, as king Monopoly does. Monopoly is an absolute Czar, and his ukase is become our only law. The legislative departments of states and nation are under his control—the judiciary are his obedient tools; and the executives (state governors and national president), are, as a rule, his creatures. We might truly say, were it not for universal suffrage, through which we may right our wrongs when we will,

"The bright sun rises to his course and lights  
A race of slaves."

It is openly declared by the enemy that every peaceful and lawful effort of the people to regain their inalienable rights and lost liberties shall be met in this country, (as it is and ever has been met in Europe), by coercion.

Rev. Joseph Cook, in an address delivered in Tremont Temple, before the "rich men" of Boston a short time ago, is reported to have announced the bloody ultimatum of the Anglo-American monopolists in the following threatening words:

"I say, come on with your schemes of confiscation and forced loans, graded income taxes and irredeemable currency under universal suffrage, then, under military necessity, and even here in the United States, we must get rid of universal suffrage, and we shall. Rather than allow these things we shall have one of the fiercest of civil wars."

Such an expression of belligerent sentiment, from such a man, in such a place, and before such an audience, is more significant of danger to American liberty and the peace of society than the mad ravings of all the alien Anarchists that ever landed upon our shores. Can any human utterance awaken the people to realize the great danger to popular liberty that threatens from the

ravenous greed of monopolists, if this will not? How profound was the sleep of security of the American people in 1860-1 until compelled to open their drowsy eyelids—"aroused from sleep," like the "strong man armed" of Milton, by the bursting of rebel shells against Fort Sumter! So now, again, most dangerous threats of rebellion and civil war by the monopolists, go unheeded. If the people speak through universal suffrage, as they certainly will speak, and, before very long, in favor of beneficent measures of reform, aimed to counteract, in some degree at least, the centralization of wealth in the hands of millionaires, and secure to the workers (wage slaves), an equitable share of the produce of their own labor, the monopolists—(that eminent New England divine has the shameless effrontery to tell us—), "will inaugurate one of the fiercest of civil wars," and "as a military necessity," will "put down universal suffrage,"—and, no doubt, they will attempt (as did the southern slave-lords), to carry out, into practical rebellion, this diabolical threat, when the time arrives for the people to speak distinctly through the ballot box for their just rights, which time is, I trust, near at hand, yea, even at our very doors.

#### X. THE NEW AND BETTER ERA.

It is only just to say right here, however, that the shameful display by the Reverend Joseph Cook of his un-American and unchristian sentiments, is not the mature voice of the *better class* of thinkers and writers of our "Athens" on which Bunker Hill monument looks so proudly down, ever keeping alive in the hearts and minds of her patriotic people the memory of Warren and his brave companions, the liberty-loving yeomanry of New England, whose blood (shed in the glorious cause of freedom and independence), moistened the ground on which the lofty structure stands.

It can never be forgotten that Boston was the home of Wendell Phillips, who was pre-eminently the prophet of the new and better era about to dawn upon the world. And one of her most enlightened and venerable citizens, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke,\* a man very eminent in literature and one of the most erudite scholars and original thinkers of any age or country, has said:

"The time will come at last, long foretold by prophet and sibyl, long retarded by unbelief and formalism, when wars shall cease and the reign of just laws take the place of force in the great feder-

eration of mankind. Christ will at last become in reality the Prince of Peace, putting an end to war between nations, war between classes in society, war between criminals and the state. In trade, instead of competition, we shall have co-operation, and all industry will receive its just recompense."

The delightful words above quoted give emphasis to both Old and New Testament ideas that it is the only object of these essays to reiterate, amplify and enforce. That learned, christian teacher and saint has here stated, in a few prophetic words, what, when put into law and institution, will bring in the millennial day. The "perfect commonwealth" will be but the unfoldment of Christianity—the crystalization (through a fraternal association of the world's workers), of the ideas revealed in the Sermon of Jesus on the Mount, into the pre-ordained, universal Christian republic, the UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

#### XI. COLD STEEL AND COLD LEAD.

But the readiness of armed guards and armed policemen in the United States of America (as well as in Ireland), to shoot into crowds of unarmed workmen and to break up public deliberate meetings, peacefully assembled and peacefully conducted—thus trampling upon the most sacred of popular rights, the right of free assembly and free speech, is, it is to be feared, only their too willing response to "secret orders in council," issued by the millionaire monopolists, and by them designed to force an uprising of the masses, which will give the classes a pretext for a declaration of martial law and the (threatened), final suppression of popular suffrage in our country, as a "military necessity."

Indeed military usurpation, it should be deeply impressed on all patriotic minds, is the only danger republics have to fear—the only foe that can destroy the American commonwealth, as it has strangled human liberty everywhere and in every age. Cold steel and cold lead penetrating the warm, palpitating hearts of patriots have spread the blight of famine over India, Egypt, Ireland, and all other countries where the British flag casts its Upas shadow, and where the cupidity of selfish man holds sway, as it does everywhere under the aegis of British law, and as it is beginning to do under that of American law, which bears too near a relationship to the laws of Great Britain, being dictated largely by English capitalists who send their agents over here for that purpose.

Believing the danger to be imminent (organized capital having secured almost complete control already of the military arm of the American nation), the author has devoted large space in this volume to a careful review of the organization known as the "national guard" of

\*James Freeman Clarke passed away on Friday evening, June 8, 1883, at his home in Jamaica Plain, Boston, at the ripe age of 78. Dr. Holmes says of him: "Every utterance, every printed word of his is on the side of human freedom. A more useful, a more beneficent, a more devoted, a more successful, a happier life than his we shall hardly find."

the several states of the American Union (but more especially of that of Iowa, of which state he has been an humble citizen for thirty-six years), also an inquiry into the reason why our forefathers declared so positively against a standing army in time of peace, and why they were so much in favor of the "right of the people to keep and bear arms."

There never has been a time, in the history of our country, I will say right here, when it stood the people more in need than it does to-day, to be prepared for the protection of their rights.

There is an old English law that our fathers designed should be an essential part of the fundamental law of each American state, that "every man should be provided with weapons and know the use of them."

The great danger to republican freedom to-day arises from a confusion of ideas in the minds of the American, many in reference to what constitutes "militia," and what "a standing army." "Under the old idea" (General Sherman tells us) "every man should be enrolled in the militia." It would be well if we hold fast the "old idea" on this question,—the writer would venture to suggest,—even if the number of the militia should seem appalling, for the General says that "under that system the militia to-day would number probably one in ten, or about six million." Six million freemen, each, with a good gun above his cabin door, as our forefathers had (and as we ought to have, I will continue to insist and urge), and all well drilled in the manual of arms, popular freedom would be secure, as our fathers meant it should be. For it was, as I have said, their design in founding the American commonwealth, that *the people should be armed and the state disarmed*, lest the state become independent of, above, and master of the people. In all despotisms (like that which dominates Ireland, India, etc.), directly the opposite policy prevails—the people are disarmed and the state is armed; and we shall find ourselves in the condition of the inhabitants of Ireland and India whenever the state is armed and the people disarmed.

An advance guard of Red Coat Cavaliers have pitched their tents to-day in Wall street, New York, instead of on Boston common, as of old, and they are secretly engaged in the unrighteous task of building up, contrary to our fundamental law, a standing army in our country in time of peace, as an instrument of corporate tyranny, to be controlled and used against the American producers by the agents of the European gold syndicates, that own a controlling interest in all of our railroads, telegraphs, mines, oil lands, great manufacturing, bonanza farms, etc. This is being done under the false, but seemingly plausible and patriotic pretext of "organizing an efficient mili-

tia force," (sheep's clothing concealing a ravenous wolf)—the people forbidden to "drill or parade with arms in their hands"—the secret purpose of the foreign enemy being to subvert the liberties of the American people, and to establish, on the ruins of our beneficent republic, a "stronger government" of money and bayonets, auxiliary to the British Empire, to be tributary to England forever. This declaration the author would make with great distinctness of utterance and impressive emphasis, so as to be heard by all patriotic Americans. If the bill to "nationalize the militia," that passed the Federal senate last winter, be got through the house of representatives and signed by the president, that most devilish engine of corporate tyranny will be completed and ready for use, that is to say, *a standing army*; and the American people will awaken to find themselves prisoners of war. Any attempt by them to regain their lost liberty will be construed, by the corrupt courts, as "conspiracy against society" and a "strike" will be the deadline in the prison-pen of monopoly. Does the reader start at this? Let him look at the condition of Europe and Asia to-day—the condition of four-fifths of the human family. Nearly all are prisoners of war to a few heartless tyrants and robbers. But those tyrants and robbers are no worse than are our railroad, coal and oil barons who, in many states, are the acknowledged dictators of all legislation, notably in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, and who control the United States senate, twenty-five of its members being, as has been already mentioned, millionaires, who secured their places, not by their superior abilities or devotion to the public good, but, it is commonly believed, *by the corrupt use of money*.

## XII. COERCION IS BARBARITY.

Whatever institutions will not stand without being propped up with swords, bayonets and Gatling guns, ought to topple and fall to the ground, never to be set up again. Let the laws be made for the welfare of the many instead of the aggrandizement of the few, and there will be no need of soldiers or armed policemen in any country under the sun, to keep the people under control, and prevent "labor riots." Peace-officers and the citizen *posse camitatus* are all-sufficient for any emergency in a free state.

This one lesson must sooner or later be learned by all, viz: that coercion is barbarity, that pains, penalties, imprisonments, and punishments are savagery; for God has indeed given man but one prerogative in his dealings with his fellowmen, which is to "return good for evil," since that is the unrepealed and unrepealable law of Jesus Christ. The

fundamental idea of christianity is to give only love for hate, to overcome evil with good, a doctrine that so appeals to the God-like in the heart and brain of universal man that it is not denied, in theory, by any, and never has been denied, in ancient or modern times; but it is admitted by all men to be as correct as a demonstration of Euclid.

Why has not this sublime doctrine been put universally in practice? There is but one correct answer to this question,—the “love of money—the root of all evil”—has been the only hindering cause. But is not this cause always operative? And will it not forever stand in the way of the enforcement of this divine doctrine? Well organized society, operating by concordant voluntary motion, akin to the instinctive, harmonious movements that distinguish a colony of honey bees,—in a word, democratic order displacing autocratic anarchy—displacing the systematic robbery (by means of coercive laws) of the many by the few—will cure the disease—chronic, because it has ever marked the degree of man’s barbarity; for civilization is only another name for social order resulting not from coercion, but from equilibrium of interests, the even poise of the steel-yards in the hand of Justice, bestowing upon each an exact and equal share of the benefits of machinery—upon each an exact and equal share of God-bestowed manna.

This, I insist, will bring unalloyed peace, concord, and fraternity, will extinguish all violence, discord and hardness. As sugar sweetens water, so will the acceptance by mankind of the christian law—the Golden Rule—as the essential law of the new social system, sweeten all the relations of life. Our old social system is based upon selfishness—that is to say, upon Paganism. It is just the opposite of the christian system, in which “no man has anything he calls his own, but all is common.” The pagan system, (which christianity was, in my opinion, intended to uproot and utterly destroy from the earth), is that system in which a few have everything which they call “their own” and nothing is common. That christianity has not yet fully displaced paganism, is too plain to admit of denial. And that is what ails the world. “Jesus,” Edward Atkinson says, “established the equality of all men under the higher law, to which all forms of government, all statutes, all judicial systems, must of necessity be adjusted, in order that they may have any duration among men. He thus laid the foundation of a true democratic principle of government which must ultimately control the relations of men to each other, and which will slowly but surely make way for peace, order, and industry, good will and plenty among all races of men.”

And here it may be truly remarked

that the degree of civilization of states and enlightenment of individual minds is indicated by the degree of their approximation to the christian plane—of their acceptance of the divine rule of overcoming evil with good. That nation is savage, pagan, barbaric, that advances to dominion through coercion, war, bloodshed, as Great Britain does; and that man or woman is a savage, a pagan, a barbarian, who upholds such a policy; for it receives no countenance or support from the teachings of the New Testament; and there is not a theologian in christendom who dare call in question this statement for a moment. Give justice and freedom to Ireland, India and Egypt—give justice and freedom to every people and to each and every individual under the shining sun, and swords will be beaten literally into plowshares, spears into pruning hooks, and the prophesy will be at last fulfilled; “Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

Yet, O my reader, it is a mighty conflict, the great anti-slavery struggle renewed, the conflict of the ages, that is now before us. The people must immediately “fall in” at the beat of the long-roll and repel the enemy with vigor at the ballot-box, or soon nothing will be left them but anarchy and revolution as the inheritance of their children. The causes are actively at work that will inevitably produce this effect, unless prevented, as it will be, I trust, by the vigilance of a most patriotic, intelligent and energetic people, determined to preserve their inalienable rights now menaced as never before.

## XII. A FINAL INQUIRY.

Let us inquire finally, shall the constitution of the United States become an engine of tyranny and a bar to progress, its original object changed, its great purpose annulled by the usurpation, on the part of one branch of the triune government, of all the prerogatives and powers of the other two branches—the judiciary becoming tyrants? The people appeal to the courts against the injustice of railroad corporations, for instance. A jury decides justly for the people. A corrupt judge sets aside the righteous verdict of an intelligent, impartial jury. The people carry up the case to the supreme tribunal. This corporation-controlled tribunal sustains the unrighteous decision of the corrupt lower court,

\*From the days of the Stuarts the (English) judges were servile, timid, and enemies of personal liberty. Over and over again Parliament has interposed to sweep away precedents which have coerced natural liberty and interpretations which have violated justice. For generations it seemed that the worst enemies of public and private liberty were these courts, whose duty it was to adjudicate equitably and to state the law with fairness.—“Six Centuries of Work and Wages.”—ROGERS.

and thus the sacred obligation of a plain and positive contract, the unrighteous courts, by collusion and wicked design, in the interest of corporate greed, annul, on the false plea of "public policy"—a dictatorial decree—the act of supreme tyrants, not of righteous interpreters of existing laws.†

Shall corporations unduly influence legislation? A law clearly unconstitutional is passed. A standing army is created under the false name of "militia." A select body of "state regulars" are enlisted for five years and paid in Iowa to drill and parade in time of peace, though the supreme law of the commonwealth positively declares "No standing army shall be kept up by the state in time of peace; and in time of war no appropriation for a standing army shall be for a longer time than two years." The courts wink at this sweeping destruction of supreme law, because a mercenary army of "state regulars" is demanded by corporate monopoly to shoot down strikers and overawe and coerce the workers into slavery. Has not the arbitrary will of a corrupt judi-

ciary become our only law, and the so-called judges, are not they kings as absolute in power as is the Czar of Russia?

Ermined tyrants, supported by the bayonets of armed mercenaries—the minions of monopoly—are the "bloody anarchists" we have most cause to fear. Exact justice by the state to each individual will preserve everlastingly the public peace. When government "fears the people" to the extent that it must arm detectives, policemen and guards to overawe them and shoot them down, does "government of the people, by the people, for the people," really exist?" Shall the executives of the states and of the nation become permanently supple instruments in the hands of corporate wealth to oppress the toiling many, exalting the military above the civil power at the demand of monopoly? And, lastly, shall the democratic masses become actual prisoners of war to the plutocratic classes by the passage of the bill to "nationalize the militia," which is now before congress, and which has already passed the aristocratic senate of the United States?

## ESSAY IV.—THE CURTAIN LIFTED.

### I. ANARCHISM, SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.

The red flag of Anarchy, I insist, must be left to wave on the other side of the German ocean; for Americans will never look kindly on the display of any flag in our country but the stars and stripes. The flag of our country, to our minds, is the only emblem of freedom. Millions of brave men have given their lives to consecrate it to liberty. Our sons, brothers, fathers and comrades have been wrapped in its sacred folds. Let no man, who expects to be considered any other than an enemy to American freedom, display any flag but the star-spangled banner among us—any colors but the red, white and blue on any public occasion. The problem of free government for America is being solved right here in the United States, and neither Europe nor Europeans can help us solve it, except by seconding the efforts of patriotic Americans, enlisting and fighting under our starry flag. Its correct solution depends upon the growth and advancement among us of American, and not of European ideas. But the madness of egotistical foreigners on our shores must not be made a pretext by the supple instruments of corporate greed (chiefs of police, mayors of cities, judges of courts and governors of states), for the destruction of popular freedom—as has been done in the monopoly-controlled state of Illinois.

†See case of E. H. Crane vs. N. W. R. R., Iowa.

We expect the stars and stripes to become the flag of the United States of the World—not forced upon mankind by bloody conquest, as the British flag has been, but gladly accepted by them through universal acclaim as the emblem of peace, unity and love; monarchy and aristocracy having perished from the earth, and democratic liberty having become the inheritance of every people beneath the sun.

But what is Anarchism?

Anarchism is despair of the ballot and dependence on the bullet. It is John Brownism simple and pure. That is all. Let justice be done to all men, and there will be no such thing as Anarchism to molest or make afraid. While the people have the ballot anarchism, as a political doctrine, will make few proselytes among thinking Americans.

And what is Socialism?

Socialism is christianity put into institution. It is the re-organization of the pentecostal society, in which philanthropy was the law, in which love of God and love of man was the religion. This is *christian* socialism.

All that is new of socialism is its name; the rest is as old as man himself. It began in the beginning while he was still a cave animal. It will be seen in its perfection when "God shall dwell with men." The name "socialism" is of foreign and not American invention; but the idea itself was first, in modern times,

\*See case of Gov. B. R. Sherman vs. Auditor J. L. Brown, Iowa.

formulated into noble expression, that reached the ears, minds and hearts of all mankind, by an American statesman, Thomas Jefferson, when he declared the God-given rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, "inalienable", and the people's will supreme. In this declaration is enfolded—as in the acorn the oak—the Tree of Liberty, under the broad-spreading branches of which an emancipated world will yet find shelter.

It has besides, another venerable meaning—the help of the individual by the many and, *vice versa*, of the many by the individual. Enumerate, if you can, the multitude of workers that prepare for you and for me the means of subsistence and comfort; agriculturists, horticulturists, gardeners, cotton growers, wool growers, cotton and wool manufacturers, silk workers, tanners, boot and shoe makers, hatters, tailors, potters, glass blowers, button makers, jewelers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet makers, bakers, etc., etc. Innumerable hands are busy preparing good things for you and for me. From the man or the woman who discovered first the use of fire to the inventor of the steam engine, all the dead since Adam, and all the living, "minister unto us." This ministration of the many to the one, (and a reciprocal devotion of the one to the many), is socialism.

Make society perfect, so that there shall be no disharmony among men, but all shall find happy, useful and remunerative employment, that desire it; bringing peace and comfort to the aged, the helpless, the fatherless, and the widows, as well as to the strong, the active and healthful, and you will have realized the dream of Jefferson, and of all philanthropists and social reformers, from Isaiah to Wendell Phillips, in short, you will have established the longlooked for Christian Commonwealth, of which the Sermon of Jesus on the Mount shall be the fundamental constitution, and the first christian society the model—a society in which "all things are common."

#### What is Individualism?

Those who talk of "individualism" talk of what does not and cannot in the nature of things exist. There never has been such a thing, no, not even among the cave dwellers or mound builders, and there never will be, before the catastrophe is reached when the bright

"Sun shall be extinguished;

And the stars

Shall wander darkling in the eternal space,

Rayless and pathless, and the icy earth

Swing blind and blackening in the moonless air"

And the "last man" shall utter his "farewell" to earth.

While this is true, still I am not ready to call myself a "Socialist," I do not like to accept the foreign appellation, because the word savors of old world ideas. True, our religion is of the old world;

true, our liberty is derived from the thoughts of Milton, Vane, Eliot and Hampden, from ideas born in the brain of old world statesmen. Yet our liberty is American. Though it be admitted that the seed-germ did come from the old world, the tree owes its stateliness to the virgin soil in which it has grown. There are united in the tree (not found in the old world scion), the wildness of our mountains, the luxuriance of our forests, the loveliness of our prairies and the beauty of our lakes. Niagara thunders beneath its branches, and its foliage is copiously watered by her spray; and the tree displays a grandeur beyond that of the stateliest forest giant of the Yosemite valley.

The German, the Frenchman, the Scandanavian, the Russian, the Italian, the Hungarian, the Bohemian, the Britain, etc., etc., are all quite welcome to sit down in the umbraguous shade of the grand old Tree of Liberty that our fathers planted. But they must not cut off a single branch or twig, to engraft thereon any foreign scion. Let the old tree grow into perfect symmetry and beauty by its own God-derived energy, and become laden with mellow and delicious fruit, of which men, women, and little children of all nations may, in welcome, partake. Its fruit must, however, be of one kind and one quality only—nothing of German flavor, nothing of French, nothing of Italian, nothing of Hungarian, nothing of Bohemian, nothing of British—it must be only a Brother Jonathan apple in flavor and kind.

Under the pretext of individualism, the greedy few have ever imposed upon and robbed the generous many. The individual has been licensed to prey upon society. The false cry that "there must be no restraint put upon individual enterprise," has let the wolf into the fold. The individual must be held strictly to the path of righteousness. Society (I mean the ninety-and-nine) must be supreme, and the common welfare paramount. Society is bound to prevent waste of the common resources, as it is bound to prevent the spread of contagious disease. It must exercise supreme control over tillage, manufacture, and the distribution of products. It must say, "No tobacco shall be cultivated, no alcohol distilled, no swine fed, and no harmful products imported or distributed." The people must take the individual by the hand and say to him, "So far and no farther shalt thou go." The path of liberty is a straight path, parallel, if not identical with the path of righteousness. License is legalized anarchy, legalized robbery, legalized murder. It is the opposite of liberty. The social system permitting population to be increased to the farthest limit of support from the resources of land and sea, lakes and rivers, is the system that

we must approach. All waste must be put a stop to. The corn produced in the fields of Iowa, if not fed to swine or distilled into alcohol, would furnish wholesome food for at least twenty millions of human beings. America will support a population of one thousand millions in plenty and comfort, under proper social conditions, and the utilization of the soil for the production solely of "necessaries of life."

## II. AMERICAN IDEAS.

The only foreign ideas that have taken root and grown on this side of the Atlantic, and that will still go on growing until the tree of liberty is full grown, came with the Mayflower Puritans and the regicides that followed them later, or were derived from the writings of Milton, Vane, Eliot, Hampden, and the other great commonwealth's statesmen of the seventeenth century, who took them directly from the Bible. Milton says in his great work, "*A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*:"

"A free commonwealth was not only held by wisest men in all ages, the noblest, the manliest, the greatest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportioned equality, both human, civil and christian, most cherishing to virtue and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined, by our Saviour himself to all christians, not without remarkable disallowance and the brand ofge tilism upon kingship. God in much displeasure, gave a king to the Israelites and imputed it a sin to them that they sought one; but Christ evidently forbids His disciples to admit of any such heathenish government. 'The kings of the Gentiles,' saith He, 'exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors; but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief as he that serveth.' The occasion of these, His words, was the ambitious desire of Zebidee's two sons, to be exalted above their brethren in his kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon the earth. That He speaks of civil government is manifest by the former part of the comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what government comes nearer to this precept of Christ than a free commonwealth, wherein they who are greatest are perpetual servants and drudges to the public; neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly in their families; walk the streets as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration."

Again Milton says: "If we were aught

else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue and industry. 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise; which having no prince, ruler or lord, provides her meat in the summer and gathers her food in harvest,' which evidently shows us that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire; neither are those diligent creatures thence concluded to live in lawless anarchy or that commended; but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men of a frugal and self-governed democracy or commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single dominion of one imperious lord. \* \*

Nothing can be more effectual to the freedom of the people than to have the administration of justice and all public ornaments, within their own election."

The ideas of liberty that have entered my mind have been derived by me from the Declaration of American Independence, the history of the American governments, colonial, state, and national, but more particularly from the New Testament, as understood and interpreted by our Puritan forefathers, and from these sources only.\* The "*ism*" that I have advocated during the sixteen best years of my life, is called "Nationalism," or popularly, "Greenbackism,"—the latter a purely American designation and name, expressive of the leading measure of reform demanded by the patriotic leaders, Wendell Phillips, Peter Cooper, Benjamin F. Butler, James B. Weaver and the rest—the abandonment, by all nations, of the barbarism of specie and of specie-basis money, and the adoption by them of legal-tender government scrip, and its utilization universally for the building up of co-operative industry and the suppression of wage slavery, the monopoly of lands, mines, etc. It is indeed the lever of the old Syracusan, lifting the world up to the lofty plane of universal freedom, happiness, prosperity, plenty—abrogating poverty and rendering our earth an Eden of bliss.

But I will not be so very dishonest as to try to draw a vital distinction where there exists fundamentally no ground of real difference. Mr. H. M. Hyndman, a distinguished English socialist writer, in his *Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, says: "Socialism is simply that science that insists upon the worker having, first, free access to the materials of production, second, free use of the tools

\*My forefathers were all colonial people: my great grandfathers continental soldiers under Prescott and Washington. May not patriotic sentiments be, to a considerable degree, inherited?

of production, and third, free use of the medium of exchange," which definition is in fact, the creed of all true democrats, and all true republicans, and all true green-backers—yea of all true patriots and philanthropists, who believe in popular rights, and the prosperity of the many of every nation and country the world over, call them by whatsoever name you may. Really, all philanthropists, and all advocates of the rights of man, have but one creed, viz: Peace and justice, equality and love, enlightenment and industry.

### III. HESSIAN IDEAS.

Ap[ro]pos of the above I will say, however, that the "Co-operative Commonwealth" of Laurence Gronlund does not exactly correspond with my idea of a true democratic state. It is, he says, the carrying out to completion the Trades-Union principle, "loyalty to leadership"—society acting as a unit under the direction of a master mind, who will hold office "during good behavior." "When they had hit upon the right leaders," he declares, "they have been willing to trust their whole collective power into their hands. \* \* \* That is the sensible, practical method," he says, "which workingmen always adopt whenever they associate to accomplish anything, as is exemplified in English Trades-Unions. Workingmen know that the direction of affairs ought to be a function of the competent, as much as the planning of a suspension bridge is, and not a play for numbers."

I insist that this thought, approving in principle a dictator, is not American, but Bismarckian, *i. e.* German. It is that of a mind schooled to one-man power. The men of the Mayflower would have repudiated it—as will their descendants. In the Co-operative Commonwealth, Mr. Gronlund says, "Every citizen has a life-tenure somewhere." The American mind will never consent to each person becoming merely a brick *fixed* in the wall of the commonwealth. He must be a living, expanding personality, with infinite hopes and infinite possibilities before him. No man here has ever had a fixed life tenure in any social position, but the negro slave. His position was fixed. A fixed position is a condition of hopeless servitude. The living man is by nature progressive. Fixity is stagnation and social death—*e. g.* Chinese civilization.

Nothing can be more anti-American, and, I think, anti-democratic, than the following words of Mr. Gronlund. He says: "Experience has shown that the responsibility to many is, in ordinary cases, no responsibility at all. We therefore hold that if these directing functionaries are to be made responsible for their work, they must be made responsible to some one person. \* \* \* The subordinates elect; the superiors dismiss. And that it will work well in prac-

tice, the Catholic Church may teach us. Cardinals elect the Pope; the priests nominate their bishops and monks their abbots. The church, by-the-way, the most ingenious of human contrivances—can teach us many a lesson, and we are fools if we do not profit by them."

Though this sort of system, may, in his opinion, "work well in practice," in church and state in the old world; I insist that it is not democratic—it is not American. If such a system is not autocratic, then I am in the dark as to what autocracy is. To be sure, Mr. Gronlund is too knowing a man to make, in New England, an open and avowed attack upon democracy, *i. e.*, "haul down the American flag;" but he asks his readers timidly the question: "Now, is this not democracy?" I answer emphatically, no. It is only the mediæval church secularized—stripped of its religious functions, and made strictly a political machine. It is history repeating itself: for this "machine" will take in hand all the work the Church once did—educational, moral, eleemosynary;—(religious excepted)—religion being outgrown, and God eliminated from the universe, according to Mr. Gronlund, who says: "The men of science assume the falsity of all theological dogmas. \* \* \* The church knows nothing worth knowing."

These ideas are "Hessian" (to use an expressive word, the meaning of which is well understood by all Americans), and should be "coralled" as he Hessian troops under Rawle were at Trenton, and sent back to the Fatherland, on parole of honor, not to return during this "War of Independence."

I believe in *prophet* leaders, like Wendell Phillips; but not in irresponsible dictators, like Bismarck. Gladstone, Parnell and Powderly are *prophet* leaders—*teachers of the people*—as were Lincoln, Washington and John Brown. But Bismarck is an irresponsible (to the people) *dictator*—the sort of leadership Mr. Gronlund believes in, if I rightly understand him.

The American Co-operative Commonwealth will know no Bismarcks, no cringing to greatness, no recognition of "superiors," and no German contempt of woman. It will be a community of equals. Public opinion will govern—will appoint and remove officials—not will it be the opinion of one sex only, but that of all men and all women, expressed through the ballot box. German socialism is, I think, the prattle of neophytes—of beginners in the study of the doctrines of human liberty. The ordinary American boy is two hundred years in advance of the most enlightened German savant, in the knowledge of human rights. And for a race that has for thousands of years been enslaved by petty lords—Bismarcks—so called "competent leaders"—dominated

by tyrants, until it believes in that sort of abomination—knowing nothing better and being mentally incapable of forming a correct conception of American liberty and equality, to presume to instruct Americans in social and political economy, is the climax of German egotism.

We have the "referendum" already. How many states voted this year directly upon a law to abolish the German saloon? We have what is as good as, if not better, than the "labor check," we have "lawful money." When we have extended the benefits of incorporation to the toilers, that heretofore have accrued mainly to capitalists;—the "wage workers combining in their own interest, and becoming incorporated under the law for peaceful and legal action, to do their work, in a way that will bring them the largest return" as advocated by Hon. S. B. Elkins, in his *Industrial Question*—a pamphlet of only thirty-six pages, but which, in my opinion, contains tenfold more of practical wisdom than all the two hundred and seventy-eight pages of Mr. Laurence Gronlund's "Co-operative (German) Commonwealth," we shall have reached the goal that all true social reformers are striving to attain—christian co-operation.

The objection, it seems to me, that it is not American, will apply to Edward Bellamy's commonwealth outlined in "Looking Backward," the same as to Laurence Gronlund's. Its germinal idea is not the town meeting, but a *standing army*.

It is a mistake to say that any great social revolution is impending in America. The American government, when controlled by all the people—men and women—will give freedom to labor, and a just reward to industry, without a jar and without any change or "amendment" of our fundamental law, by merely extending to the many the benefits of legislation now appropriated by the few.

#### IV. WAR A DANGEROUS EXPEDIENT.

Behind the mad methods of the Anarchist leaders, is Socialism, as behind the mad methods of old Ossawatimie Brown, was Abolitionism.

Socialism is the emancipation of the wage slaves, as Abolitionism was the emancipation of chattel slaves. Every branch of the true vine of modern socialism springs from the self same root—the Sermon of Jesus on the Mount and the Declaration of American Independence. From that same root sprang also Abolitionism.

John Brown believed that the chattel slaves could be freed only by war. The Anarchists believe that the wage slaves can be freed only by war. Very few Abolitionists shared this belief with

John Brown, and very few Socialists share this belief with the Anarchists. The chattel slaves were freed, I admit, through the immediate agency of war—a rash, cruel, uncalled-for war, forced upon the people by the madness of a few "extremists," south and north. Its baleful effects will be felt to the end of time. The future historian of the "Decline and Fall of the American Republic," I am apprehensive, will record as the direct result of this dreadful war, the extinguishment of American liberty, the melancholy historic page reading, it may possibly be, in words of the following sad import, viz:

"The northern armies fought for the preservation of the Union, which meant to the northern soldiers the triumph of free labor and the destruction of chattel slavery; but to the far-seeing statesmen of the north it meant the exaltation of the Hamiltonian idea of government, that is to say, centralization and class rule. The southern armies fought for "state rights," which to the southern planters, who were the heart and soul of the southern armies, meant the preservation of chattel slavery; but to the far-seeing statesmen of the south it meant the exaltation of the Jeffersonian idea of government, that is to say, decentralization and mass rule."

Indeed it is quite possible for democratic liberty to be entombed at Washington a century before the American people become fully aware of its death. History will certainly go on to state, what we already see to be the melancholy truth, that "Soon after the surrender of the Confederate forces at Appomattox and the disbandment of the northern and southern troops, millionaires arose in great numbers in the north, enriched by the impoverishment of the producers, through the exactions of corporate extortion, a vicious monetary system, excessive taxation by government, and the subjection of the industrial classes under a cruel system of wage slavery, supported by the bayonets of mercenary guards, detectives, and policemen, and by tyrannical legislation,\* and corruption in high places. The most honorable dignity—the office of United States senator, once proudly filled by statesmen and patriots like Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Sumner, Douglas, and Thurman, became a thing of

\*The so-called "conspiracy law" passed by the Illinois legislature last winter, at the bidding of monopoly, is now (1889) being turned against the C. B. & Q. strikers. By the help of detectives, (professional perjurers), monopoly expects, through the operation of "conspiracy laws" to conquer the toilers and break up their combinations for self-protection. The most influential and patriotic leaders of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers involved in the strike, will be sent, if possible, to the penitentiary. There will be gotten up, by the detectives, a bomb-throwing scare, equal to the Salem witch-scare of old if the people do not open their eyes and frown down the sneaking fraud.

barter and sale to the highest bidder for gold, public spirit and patriotism died out and became extinct in the hearts of the so-called "statesmen," and the modest stars of liberty withdrew from human vision, as the glaring sun of monopoly arose."

Can the shackles ever be broken off the hands and feet of the wage slaves by means of bloody war? The attempt must, if tried, prove to be a most doubtful and dangerous experiment to us, as it proved to the ancient Romans, involving the ruin of their venerable republic, that had stood, proudly defying the rage of all foreign foes, for hundreds of years; but at last it fell by civil discord and strife. Let the young American patriot read attentively Rome's instructive history, and be taught by her sad example never to favor methods of violence and war for the righting of social and political wrongs in a free commonwealth. Those methods are, however, always quickly seized upon by monopolists to further their greedy purposes, though more fatal, in the end, to the welfare of the rich than of the poor. But when avarice gets possession of the soul, patriotism, reason, and even common sense are all driven out. It was the insatiable avarice of the rich that ruined ancient Rome. The Gracchi interposed to save their country and to preserve the legal rights of the people to the lands, by the peaceful suffrage of the tribes. The sacred tribunes, the patriotic sons of Cornelia, are stricken down—murdered by Patrician violence, that overthrew the ballot, trampled under foot the constitution, annulled the ancient statutes and seized ruthlessly upon the lands, thus rendering life to the Plebeians insupportable. Behold Marius "extinguish all just and regular government in the blood of those who were alone qualified to sustain it"—Sylla "stay his rage of blood only for want of victims" and Antony "exult at beholding the heads of his enemies.†" The American republic will perish, it may be, as did that of Rome, ending in a line of military despots and, perhaps, without even one Marcus Aurelius to relieve the unloveliness of the picture.

#### V. "COERCION IS ENGLISH, YOU KNOW."

I believed, with the peace-loving Friends of Pennsylvania in 1860, that public opinion alone without war would, in a little while, free the chattel slaves. I believe with them now that public opinion alone without war, will, in a little while, free the wage slaves.

† That of Cicero, the orator, was received by him with the joy of victory. He gazed on it with singular pleasure. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, forced open the jaw and pricked and tore the tongue of the dead patriot with the point of a bodkin which she took from her hair.—"Ferguson's Hist. Rom. Rep."

But I say to my countrymen to-day what might most appropriately have been said to them in 1859, when John Brown was executed at Harpe's Ferry. *We are, I am sadly apprehensive, on the eve of troublous times.*

Listen, my countrymen:  
American History is repeating itself.

War, fierce and relentless, has already been declared by capital against labor; and the monopolists are nervously awaiting the passage of the corrupt and insane measure, now before our Congress, which has passed our plutocratic Senate, and which is designed to place in the hands of the employers of labor the control of the entire national military power, to be used by them against the toilers, (as did the Buchanan administration place all in the hands of the slave power.) The hanging of the four Anarchists at Chicago for the new (and before-unheard-of-in America) capital crime of "Conspiracy against Society," was, I believe, planned and carried out by the enemies of popular liberty, to prepare the public mind for the passage by Congress of this accursed bill, and other tyrannical laws, under the pretext of "protecting the people against the dangerous class,"—that is, against themselves!

This cry of "Anarchist" is a gigantic fraud. It is, in my opinion, raised to awaken the fears of the people, and thus blind the eyes of their reason, as has been successfully done during the past twenty years, by the kindred cry of "Southern outrage"—a cry which has ceased to be effective—a means that has ceased to rally the north and solidify the south.

Another bugbear must be invented, or monopoly loses its cancerous hold upon the throats of the people. The German "Red Republicans," the "bloody Anarchists," that have given Bismarck the nightmare so often and so long opportunely, for the base designs of monopoly, appear among us!

Can the designing few thus hoodwink the many and continue still to govern this country, enslaving and robbing the producers? Wealth is the produce of labor, and without slavery or robbery of some kind or other of the toilers, (wage workers and farmers), the products of labor cannot possibly leave the hands of the many to center in the hands of the few. The wage slave-holder of the north is not at all different in mind and disposition from the chattel slave-holder of the south, of ante-bellum days. We know what Americans will sacrifice and suffer that they may hold their fellow-men in bondage. The difference in action of northern and southern men depends on whose ox has been gored.

And this thought, it seems to me, deserves the profoundest attention of the reader—deserves, above all others, the fastest hold of his mind. It will be to

him an electric light, equaling in brightness the noonday sun-blaze; and the "lion in the way" to the temple of freedom is revealed under its rays, and the difficulties to be met along the path of progress are made apparent. The struggle to emancipate the wage slaves will be (without the most careful procedure on the part of all peace-loving patriots), an exact repetition of the struggle to emancipate the chattel slaves; and for the same reason—selfishness, greed, inhumanity, savagery, displayed by those who fatten on the fruits of other's toil.

#### VI. CLASS VS. MASS.

Was John Brown any better thought of by the chattel slave holders than the judicially murdered Chicago Anarchists are thought of by the wage-slave-holders? If the whole Union had been a chattel slave-holding republic then, as it is a wage slave-holding republic now, who would have arisen in this country to do John Brown reverence? He would have lived only in the hearts of the blacks for whose freedom he died. The executed Anarchists of Chicago will live forever in the hearts of the wage slaves, white and black, the world over, for whose freedom they as literally died.

The universal "rebel yell" of the capitalistic press, approving the unlawful execution of the Chicago victims of monopolistic tyranny, convinces me that the designing leaders, under pay of corporations, turn now to Anarchist persecution as their only straw to grasp at while they sink beneath the waves of popular condemnation. The arrest and imprisonment, for a year, of Herr Most in New York, for words spoken, certainly not meriting any attention—of no significance whatever, of no more "bloody character"—nor half so much so—as are the words uttered every Sunday from many of the pulpits in our cities and towns, against the workingmen—is but a link in the chain that is being forged by the capitalistic "machine" to bind the hands and feet of the American people.

As a specimen of ordinary pulpit philosophy on which the "rich man" is regularly regaled, I copy the following from a late sermon preached by the Reverend E. H. Hall, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. He says:—

"If society is the sacred thing we have shown it \* \* \* anything that endangers its existence is a grave offence. \* \* \* Then there is such a thing as crime, and crime deserves whatever punishment society inflicts upon it. \* \* \* If the social order is a sacred thing, then no individual life must stand in the way. \* \* \* The integrity of society is more sacred. \* \* \* It cannot be too plainly declared that this continent is to be the home, not of lawless and irresponsible masses,

but of orderly and well regulated society." Which may be illustrated as follows:

Society, (the "rich man"—or *Dives*),  
vs.

The Masses, (the common people who hear Jesus gladly.)

Now comes "Society," the "rich man," into court and pleads that it (he) is "sacred"—that the "masses" refusing to bow the knee, is crime "deserving whatever punishment society (*Dives*) inflicts"—that society is more sacred than "individual life"—that this continent is "not meant to be the home of lawless, irresponsible masses, but of orderly and well regulated society." To this the masses appear and make answer, that the greatest good to the greatest number is sacred, and must and shall be enforced; and that whatever stands in its way must succumb and disappear; that "sacred law" is the fairly expressed will of the "irresponsible masses;" that "social order," not in accord with the will of the majority, is death—the decomposing corpse of Liberty; that our fathers forsook "social order," produced by "law" (coercion) for freedom; that there can be no true "social order" except when produced by exact justice to all men—the inalienable rights of all to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," being made secure, rendering pains, penalties, and imprisonments obsolete—they "perishing from the earth," along with their parent, Tyranny; and that our pilgrim fathers dedicated this continent to the "irresponsible masses," who know no law but "the State's collected will."

At Lexington, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, Major Pitcairn ordered the "enemies of social order," the "lawless masses" there assembled, to "lay down their arms and disperse." Not being immediately obeyed he promptly inflicted "punishment" upon them in the name of "sacred social order"—killing eight. Whereupon the "lawless masses," from every town in New England, near and far, hastened to Cambridge, where my learned friend, Rev. E. H. Hall, now "holds the fort" for "social order."

"While the first oath of freedom's gun  
Came on the blast from Lexington,  
And Concord, roused, no longer tame,  
Forgot her old baptismal name,  
Made bare her pat'r of arm of power,  
And swelled the discord of the hour,"

I am proud to say that Daniel Brown, my own great grandfather, in the ranks of the New Hampshire militia, hurried forward to Cambridge, accoutered with good rifle, powder-horn and shot-pouch, from his cabin near Moultonboro, away up at the head of Lake Winnepesaukee, to fight against the same kind of "social order," (tyranny), that my esteemed christian brother (Rev. E. H. Hall)

pleads so eloquently for now, and that he helped to man the stone wall on Breed's Hill, and to "hold that fort" against the "friends of social order;" but, on finally retreating with his comrades, he received serious injury ("punishment") from a cannon-ball, fired against the "lawless masses" from a British ship.

To overthrow democratic government (mass rule) and to introduce permanently plutocratic government (class rule), is the deep laid and well matured purpose of the classes, to the accomplishment of which purpose they have been moving cautiously, "so as not to arouse opposition," ever since the surrender of Lee. It was their design in 1880, I always shall believe, to inaugurate an emperor in the person of General Grant. That plan having signally failed, their only hope now is to hold the country under their control by a "scare," of some kind or other, until their design to destroy the republic can be successfully carried out, through the instrumentality of martial law, and the putting down of universal suffrage, "as a military necessity," as Rev. Joseph Cook outlined in his Tremont Temple Address.

Soon present systems of production, land ownership, and distribution of products, it is plain to be seen, must break down and come to an end, under universal suffrage. This the classes well know. When broken down and co-operation becomes the law they know also that there will cease to be rich and poor. Equality of fortune will universally prevail. The masses being well-to-do, will, by voluntary associated action, provide bountifully for the wants of all the helples. When the three fundamental questions shall be fairly put to the American people for solution:

*First:* Shall wage industry be abolished, and shall co-operative industry be substituted in its place?

*Second:* Shall the lands become the common inheritance? and

*Third:* Shall the people control the medium of exchange for the common benefit? When it shall be apparent, I say, that this triumvirate of vital questions have come forward to be answered by an affirmative "aye"—spoken with a loud voice by the ninety-and-nine, then will there be such a manifestation of diabolical tyranny by the enemy—such an effort made to put down free speech, free press, free assembly, and finally, to suppress the freedom of the ballot, or universal suffrage, as was never known in christendom before; because it will be the casting out of the last devils of the kind that "go out hard"—it will be the last effort of the Satan of selfishness, to save his throne and head—it will be the winding up of the rule of the Antichrist of unrighteousness, and the

inauguration of the Prince of Peace.\*

That day is now right here at our doors, and the trinity of divine questions are now before the American people for an affirmative answer. This is my explanation of the cause of the "troublesome times" near at hand. Only wise statesmanship and patriotic leadership of the people will prevent civil war. The control of the military power of the nation must not, I insist, pass out of the hands of the people into the hands of monopoly, if we would have peace. The moment the bill to "nationalize the militia" becomes a law, every wage worker will be a prisoner of war, and to advise a strike will be death or imprisonment in penitentiary for life, for the new crime of "Conspiracy against Society."

## VII. WAR CLOUDS.

The trend of affairs in the United States is now unquestionably in the direction of civil commotion. Ideas antagonistic to each other, that will not coalesce, that will not fuse, are they not rapidly organizing men into vast associations?—on the one hand, I admit, of a peaceful character, relying on the ballot (the Farmers' Alliance, the Knights of Labor, and the various Workingmen's Unions;) but on the other hand, of a military character, relying upon the bullet (the national guards, armed detectives and armed policemen—the bloodhounds of capital, the mercenary minions of corporate tyranny.) That which is a peaceful, sleeping lion to-day, may be suddenly aroused from sleep and become fearfully warlike to-morrow.

There appeared in the *Chicago Times* just the other day the following significant expression of belligerent sentiment:

"Gatling guns, with brave men behind them, are the true remedy for about all the strike troubles."

To which Mr. Powderly, among other words big with meaning, promptly replied: "Be careful! Workingmen who hint at force, or the use of explosives, are called 'Anarchists.' \* \* \* Remember, that if the day arrives when the disputes between labor and capital must be settled by force, there will be more strikers to handle firearms than men to oppose them."

I call this kind of talk, "advance picket skirmishing"—(threatening words that precede determined action.) To be

\*Employers have constantly predicted that ruin would come on the great industries of the country if workmen were better paid and better treated. They resisted and have resisted up to the present day, every demand which workmen have made for the right of association, for the limitation of children's and women's labor, for the shortening of hours, for the abolition of track, for the protection of their workmen's lives and limbs from preventable accidents, and are now appealing to the doctrine of liberty of contract, after having for centuries denied the liberty. — "Six Centuries of Work and Wages." — *ROBERTS*.

sure, the workingmen will answer all along the line discreetly, and not rashly. The flames of civil war may be, at any moment, enkindled by indiscretion and rashness, to be extinguished only in a deluge of blood, and the destruction of countless millions of wealth. Human nature is the same to-day as it was one hundred years ago; and the people of America are just as jealous of their liberties now, I trust, as they were when the "minute men" of New England hastened to Lexington, Concord and Cambridge, rifle in hand, and rallied to the support of the patriot cause, under the leadership of Putnam, Warren and Washington. Let me kindly, but distinctly, tell the enemy of popular rights, (who seems to be possessed with the same foul demon of coercion that tore the mad soul of George Third, and disrupted the British empire a century ago), let me tell him, that before the American people become conscious and willing slaves to a mongrel Anglo-American aristocracy—before "stronger government" dominate here as it dominates in Ireland—this country will be reduced again to the wilderness it was two hundred years ago. Mounds only, and smoking ruins will mark where once our proud cities stood; and the whole land, that we so much love, will be as desolate as the plains of Babylon.

Americans are quick to think and prompt to act; and there is no power on earth can prevent them from righting their wrongs, "peacefully if they can, forcefully if they must." Hence I say to the authorities of my country, pause! As a patriot, with the blood of Revolutionary sires in my veins—as one whose heart beats with the same love of liberty that led Warren to lay down his life at Bunker Hill, and as a sincere advocate of peace and good will—standing on the watchtower of freedom, I say to the enthroned powers of our government, HALT!! Pinkerton's Hessians must be immediately disarmed and disbanded. The national guard must not be called out to shoot down unarmed workers, (men, women and children) any more. The police force of our cities must not be armed like soldiers, and marched in platoons into the midst of public meetings to break them up here as they are broken up by armed police in Ireland. The Anarchism we have great reason now to fear is that of monopoly arming national guards, policemen, and detectives in the name of "law and order," to break up public meetings and shoot down working people. The freedom of assembly, the freedom of speech, of the pen and of the press must not be interfered with in the United States. The pen (another name for public sentiment), is mightier than the sword, but it must be free—perfectly free. As friends of the new freedom (I call it new, but it came heralded in the joyful hymn heard by the

shepherds among the Judean hills, nearly nineteen hundred years ago), as friends of the new freedom we cannot afford to resort to violence and force for righting our wrongs, while yet the stump, the printing press and the ballot, are within our reach. We may safely rely upon truth (another way of saying we may rely upon God, for God is truth), and upon the potent ballot to preserve to us our rights. Public opinion is omnipotent here. The voice of the people is the voice of God. This the enemy of popular liberty well knows. Hence the efforts of the monopoly to control the press and to put down free speech. If all the great dailies, weeklies, and monthlies of our country can be made to voice the monopolists' views, and free assembly, free speech, free pen and free press be destroyed, the people may (it is thought), be hoodwinked and led unresistingly into permanent slavery. But it is impossible to obscure for a great while the truth. The eclipse will soon pass away and a clear sky will again reveal the glorious sun.

#### VIII. THE CHICAGO DETECTIVES.

What are they? They are a banditti, and they perpetrate with impunity greater crimes than were ever attempted by brigands. They plan and execute robberies, and then for the reward offered, cause the innocent to be convicted and executed. Hired to procure evidence for divorces, they seduce men and women into adultery. The detective associations of Chicago are largely made up of blackmailers, blacklegs, burglars, assassins, murderers, thugs, pimps and harlots; and they are a scourge to that city, more dreadful than the black death. No man's or woman's life, property or reputation has any protection or security where those unscrupulous mercenaries hold sway.†

It is believed that the swarms of detectives that curse that city were the source and fountainhead of the river of discord that overflowed at the Haymarket on the 4th of May, 1886. It is believed that a so called "detective" threw the fatal bomb, in order to break the McCormick strike. I dare say there are hundreds of assassins in Chicago calling themselves "detectives," capable of committing such a crime. Let them bring to justice the one who did throw the deadly missile, and whom they allowed to escape, or let them forever stand justly suspicioned, by a jealous

†The facts on which my estimate of the detective system is based, were obtained by me from reliable sources, the testimony of a young man of my acquaintance who was employed among the detectives of the Lake City for a long while, and who learned the workings of the nefarious system by actual observation on the ground; and from the efforts of detectives to convict Wilcox and Cline of the murder of Mayor Stubbs of Polk City, Iowa.

public, of the crime themselves. If they were half as skillful, in their detective profession, as they advertise themselves to be, they would certainly have tracked up, arrested and produced the real criminal in court long ago, unless it is their wish to conceal him. And I believe it is.

I do not believe there was any "conspiracy to take human life" in Chicago, Illinois, on the 4th of May, 1886, except as concocted by detectives and their paymasters, the monopolists, who were the aggressors. I believe that the butchery of the six workmen by the armed Chicago police force, on the day before the Haymarket tragedy, was the result of a premeditated conspiracy to take life—that it was a cowardly, cold-blooded massacre, worse than that of the 5th of March, 1770, in Boston, Massachusetts, known in the history of our country as the "Boston massacre," that had so much to do towards enkindling the flames of the Revolutionary war. Our fathers would not endure the shooting down of the people by the armed minions of tyranny; nor will the American people now bear it. The interference of armed men with the freedom of assembly, is a most dangerous menace to popular liberty, that will not be tolerated a day longer. It is not the office of policemen, I shall ever insist, to march armed, and in platoons, like soldiers, right into the midst of public meetings, where the people are quietly listening to addresses, to break them up here, as is done by policemen in Ireland, who break up, and disperse, by force of arms, the meetings of the National League. Under no pretext must the freedom of speech or of assembly be interfered with here. The time-consecrated motto of American freemen, "Our liberties we prize and our rights we will maintain," will be their motto, I trust, as long as time endures.

#### IX. THE STRAIGHT PATH OF CIVILIZATION.

Michael Davitt would never have been heard of as a preacher of violence in unhappy Ireland, had it not been for the tyranny of British law. John Brown would have spent his days peacefully at the plow but for the tyranny of American law. The Michael Davitts and John Browns of the world ("Anarchists," call them if you will), may be sent to prison and to the gallows in battalions and by army corps; but tyranny will not live a day longer for their incarceration and barbarous execution.

If the southern statesmen (Davis, Tombs and the rest), had known in 1860, what bitter experience afterwards taught them—that civilization advances irresistibly along a straight path—they would have said to the people of the south, "Chattel slavery is dead. Civilization has killed it, let us bury it then, peacefully and noiselessly." So, to-

day, the real statesmen of our country, north and south, do now see and perceive that wage slavery is dead. Profiting by past experience they assuredly will not let history repeat itself in so short a time as twenty-five years; but the American people will quietly and peacefully lower the wage system of industry into the grave out of sight, and peacefully will they introduce the co-operative system of production.

But I believe the hanging of those four men at Chicago, innocent of any crime known to our laws, is, I repeat, part of a diabolical conspiracy of designing capitalists to force the working classes into an attitude of revolt, so as to give a plausible pretext for "nationalizing the militia," and thus perfecting the machinery of a standing army, that is now, with so much care, building up, under the cloak of "militia," to carry out the infernal scheme of coercion and subjugation of the toilers, and of fastening the chains of industrial slavery permanently upon their wrists and ankles—strikes to be declared "riots," and suppressed by force of arms; to advise a strike, "conspiracy against society," punishable with death on the gallows, or life-imprisonment in penitentiary; and universal suffrage to be overthrown under the plea of "military necessity."

It is no difficult task now to employ a Chicago detective to plant a few bombs along a railroad track, in case of a strike, and then arrest and convict the leaders of the brotherhood of strikers for "conspiracy;" because the trade of a detective is professional perjury. It is no more trouble to-day for a Gould or a Vanderbilt to convict an innocent workingman of the greatest crimes, than it was for Nero or Caligula to convict a victim whom they wished to destroy. It is all done now by "machinery." The metropolitan daily press, clergy, mayors, police officers, judges, legislators and governors of states, are merely "wheels" of the "capitalistic machine." To "manufacture public sentiment," a dynamite scare is gotten up to order, the corporations interested footing the bill. Some ignorant German, who cannot speak English, is charged with "conspiring to kill" judges, governors, or the President of the United States—a bomb is hid in his house or near his boarding place by one of Pinkerton's men—the trap is sprung; the poor Dutchman, who can only say, "nichts-vorstay," is convicted of "conspiracy" by the testimony of a perjured detective, who "turns state's evidence," and he is sentenced to seventeen years in the penitentiary;—then a raid is made, by the police of Chicago, upon the halls where "Anarchists" meet; their Sunday schools are proclaimed, and their assemblies are broken up. Thus the way is being macadamized to the utter destruction of popular rights.

## X. SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS.

We want cool-headed statesmanship to carry us safely past these dangerous rocks; to pilot us clear, on the one hand, of the capitalistic Anarchists, blinded by insatiable avarice, and mad with greed, controlling the machinery of government and manipulating the national guard, police and detective force in arms, and with reckless rashness and Tory brutality, shooting down working people, breaking up public assemblies, and destroying the freedom of speech; and, on the other hand, of the socialistic Anarchists, retaliating by violence and bloodshed, the wrongs inflicted by monopoly against labor.

Oh, workmen, leave violent methods where they have ever been held, esteemed and persistently used against the weak and defenseless, since tyranny and greed first set foot upon the before peaceful and happy earth—leave Anarchism where it belongs, and has always belonged, time out of mind, (for the common people, as a class, do no wrong designedly, do no violence premeditatedly—make no war upon society)—leave Anarchism in the possession of the enemy of popular rights, to be wielded by him in his impotent efforts to stay the tide of progress, as was shown by the mad action of the the Canadian Tories in their desperate attempts to take the life of the Irish patriot (who now—shame to Old England—occupies a narrow cell in a British bastille), the brave O'Brien, by mob violence and assassination—an exhibition by the pretended friends of "law and order," of the hypocrisy of their pretensions, and as shown more plainly still by the parliament of England, voicing the will of the Tory aristocracy, in its demoniacal oppression of Ireland.

Monarchists and aristocrats the world over, mean only by "law" the war-club of oppression, and by "order" the abject submission of the many to the yoke of bondage placed upon their necks by the few, through the instrumentality of so-called "laws," that is to say, *coercion bills* enforced by military power. But reason and the peaceful ballot are the only weapons American workmen have any use for now, or will be likely to have ever, in political and social warfare; for well matured public sentiment will, in this enlightened christian age, insist, build up free institutions everywhere without the shedding of one drop of blood by the people in aggressive strife. When the Divine Master said to Peter, "Put up thy sword into the sheath," he uttered words of deepest wisdom—the profoundest philosophy.

Whoever advises the workmen to violence and bloodshed in defense of their rights, or to redress their wrongs, in this country, may be correctly named

"detective," "spy," "informer" or "madman." Prudent and patriotic leadership is the great thing to be desired, the *desideratum* in any contest for human liberty. The Powderlys, the Parnells and the Gladstones of our day, occupy positions of the highest importance to the welfare of men, for the present and for all future time, like that of Washington in 1776, and like that of Lincoln, at the helm of our ship of state in the great storm engendered by the demon, chattel slavery. They are the *toci* of hope for the emancipation of the world from the barbarism that has held her in thrall from the cave period till now, leading mankind out of coercion, robbery and war, into kindness, charity and peace, out of the service of self into the service of humanity, from the worship of Mammon to the worship of God.

If I were called to-day to write a proclamation to the working people of my country, I would clothe it in something like the following words:

## XI. TO THE TOILERS OF AMERICA.

Patience: The overthrow of the enemy of the people by the ballot is assured, if you be patient, Oh, ye long-suffering millions! Let nothing that the enemy may do drive you to violence. It is part of the programme of the wage slave power to bear down upon the toilers, until the oppression becomes unbearable and the people rise in insurrection, which will give a pretext to the idle classes for the establishment of a military dictatorship over the working masses, and the overthrow of popular liberty in America. It is believed by the capitalists that the period is about reached when insurrections must break out among the poor wage workers, locked out of employment, and the cry of "bread or blood" be raised by the starving many. Nothing else will give the enemy success. There must be violent outbreaks or industrial slavery cannot be permanently fastened upon us.\* While universal suffrage lasts, the

\*The action of the British spy, LeCaron, in advising dynamite outrages in the Wabash railroad strike, is a case in point.

\*Of the London strike of 1839 we read:

The temper of the companies may be inferred from the following remarks of a member of one of the big firms quoted in the London *Daily News*. Referring to the suspension of all business the man of wealth said:—

"So it will be so long as we submit to be ruled by these fellows."

"What fellows are they?"

"Why, Burns and the rest of them."

"And how would you propose to put things right?"

"I'd lock up about four of them, and the whole thing would collapse."

"Supposing you could do it, you would naturally provoke riot and disorder."

"A good job, too. It would soon bring things to a crisis, and we should know how to deal with it."

This manifest desire to provoke a riot with a

capitalists are powerless to do evil, if the working people unite and speak through the ballot box as one man for the rights and interests of the many. "Rather than permit this," the enemy will inaugurate, he says, "one of fiercest of civil wars," and as a "military necessity" he will put down universal suffrage.

Before the republic can be overthrown by force of arms there must be a pretext to "nationalize the militia," that is, consolidate the army of national guards—enlisted, organized and disciplined the same as United States regulars, so that the wage workers may be held at the muzzles of the muskets of mercenary Hessians, as prisoners of war, and a strike be made the dead-line in the Andersonville prison-pen of monopoly. Hence the serpent hiss we hear daily from the bought up newspaper fraternity about the "dangerous class." They roll the Haymarket tragedy under their forked tongues as a sweet morsel. They exult at it. The mercenary detectives in the pay of monopolists, I believe, purposely produced it.\* The workingmen had

nothing to do with it. A God-send it was to the enemies of American liberty. The corporation-controlled courts have taken advantage of it, as a pretext to break down the safeguards of common justice and usurp all the prerogatives of government. They have deceived nobody. The people understand them.

Patience! Let committees of the friends of free government be appointed in every city to look after the families of laborers out of employment. Don't let starvation enter their doors to drive the workmen to despair and impel them to deeds of violence; and soon, by the potent ballot, we will peacefully suppress the rebellion of capital against labor. Let the friends of democratic government be watchful to provide for the wants of the oppressed laborers, until we shall have time to marshal our forces at the ballot box, and vote the monopolists out of power and place in this country forever.

Producers, farmers and wage-workers  
—patriots of America—unite!

## The Coming Reform.

OPTIMIST, PESSIMIST.

"The Earth hath he given to the children of men."—DAVID.

OPTIMIST.

Good morning, neighbor Pessimist; why do you look so sour?  
Good news I bring you: soon will end accursed kingly power;  
And wars no more will scourge the world; but best Equality  
Will wed the lovely angel Peace; and we shall live to see  
God's Kingdom set up in the earth; the promised Shiloh come,  
When Poverty shall disappear; the glad millennium  
Will rise upon us bright as noon before you are aware;  
Then cast aside your gloomy looks and trample on Despair!

PESSIMIST.

The end of kings, kind Optimist, we never shall behold;  
Proud tyrants bind us now in chains—king Alcohol, king Gold,  
The first is Satan loosed on earth to reign a thousand years;  
The beast of the Apocalypse the second king appears.  
These war against the sons of men; resistless is their power;  
The authors of all wretchedness; the helpless they devour—  
No promise yet of better things; the world grows worse each year;

view to military interference was evident in the tactics of the Dock Companies from the beginning.—*Irish World*.

\* The detectives (professional perjurers) in the pay of the C. B. & Q. railroad officials are at work now (1888) to manufacture similar "outrages"—"dynamite conspiracies" etc., of the striking engineers and brotherhood leaders. The "dynamite" craze will be worked by the capitalists for all there is in it, with corrupt courts, suborned witnesses and packed juries to aid them.

A night of gloom the future shows; no gleams of morn appear;  
But rather darkness visible—a blackness undefined  
Obscures the hope of good to man—gross darkness clouds his mind.  
The people are a race of fools—a flock of owls and bats;  
Their wisdom is a sham,—how blind, a herd of hungry rats!  
The "piper pipes;" the multitude rush madly through the towns,  
Till in the sea they are engulfed; behold the vermin drown!  
A glass of beer will buy their vote; the statesman, for a "pass,"  
Will be to Gould or Vanderbilt a most devoted ass.  
A mess of pottage gains the best; their birth-right they resign;  
Thus avarice drives the people mad, as devils drove the swine.  
We live to see the end of wars; see blest Equality!  
Behold all Christendom in arms! An aristocracy Has grown here in a score of years, and mushroom millionaires  
Now seize the reins of sovereignty. The patriot despairs!  
'Tis plausible to look for good! No, "facts are stubborn things."  
Can hope wipe out the race of Knaves and break dishonest "rings?"  
God's Kingdom is a crazy dream—yet let him dream who will!—  
Such dreams are sweet, good Optimist; but truth's a bitter pill!

OPTIMIST.

Methinks your mother nourished you, dear Pessimist, on gall;  
Your bump of hope indeed is weak; your bump of faith is small.  
From savagery mankind have risen; 'twas Progress led them forth  
To triumph over matter and to conquer all the earth;  
The mountains they have leveled down; the hills they have brought low;—  
The law is: "They shall conquer still, shall vanquish every foe."  
The prophet saw the blessed day; saw blossom as the rose  
The desert of the human mind; and we may well suppose

That he who tames the elements and yokes them  
to his cars,  
Will tame his savage passions too, and put an end  
to wars,  
The puny tribe of millionaires awhile may buzz  
and sting;  
But, mark me, gloomy Pessimist, the people will  
be king!  
The people are a mammoth strong, resistless  
when they move,  
And progress is continuous, as of the stars above;  
No going back; but onward still—right onward  
in their course;  
Yoa on and on forever, and omnipotent their  
force,  
Most subtle are ideas, friend; though subtle  
they are strong!  
Their fiat is: "Close up the gates against rob-  
bery and wrong."  
King Alcohol must die the death; king Gold  
must bow the knee;  
The hand that grasps the thunderbolt like Jove's,  
will yet be free!  
Man will be free! Equality will come to bless  
the Earth,  
And Poverty shall disappear, and Freedom have  
new birth.

## PESSIMIST.

Did not great Rome succumb to gold? Corrup-  
tion rang her knell;  
Her toilers robbed by millionaires, she tottered  
and she fell!  
The Gracchi thought to stem the tide; their ef-  
forts were in vain;  
The tribunes of the people fell; her patriots  
were slain.  
The "rich man" struck the fatal blow; accurst  
Monopoly  
Destroyed the mighty Commonwealth and strangled  
Liberty.  
The "rich man" knows no law but greed, and  
governments are made  
An engine of oppression dire,—to tyranny an aid.  
He robs by law; the army fights to force the  
poor to yield  
To him the substance of their toil, the products  
of the field.  
Thus Ireland now is overrun with Red Coat sol-  
diers,  
To force the slaves that till the lands, again to  
bow the knee.  
When force shall fail will fraud come in, assas-  
inations, guile:  
The rich will rule; the poor must serve now, on,  
and a' the while;  
There is no hope for him who toils; relief will  
be denied;  
His choice must lie 'twixt slavery and death by  
suicide.

## OPTIMIST.

I cannot say to you, my friend, that you are  
wholly right;  
'Tis gloomy now I must admit; but day succeeds  
the night.  
The evils that cannot be borne will soon be  
thrown aside,  
And then will rise the better day the prophets  
have descried—  
That brighter day shall surely come when labor  
will combine  
And walk together brothers all, the mighty  
"ninety-nine"—  
The "one"—how feeble is his arm when stalwart  
Labor strikes;  
The flood pours forth submerging all since  
broken are the dykes;—  
The time's at hand when shall arise the flood of  
working men,  
And autocrats shall fly for life, and thrones will  
topple then:

We hear the mutterings of the storm; the Social  
Democrat,  
The Nihilist, Trade's Union, all have issue  
their fiat.  
Upon the higher plane of love the people take  
their stand;  
The world is free! King Gold is dead, and Labor  
owns the land!  
A bloodless revolution hail! Green Ireland now  
behold  
Assume her former dignity, her prowess as of  
old!  
Her sons have shown their native worth; her  
daughters have outdone  
The heroines of history—unfading laurels won;  
The sword no longer will be sought to right the  
toilers' wrongs;  
For peaceful means more potent are in breaking  
Slavery's thong.

## PESSIMIST.

The toilers, they are brutal dolts—a pack of  
senseless curs!  
Tobacco is their daily bread; their drink is swill.  
Yea, worse,  
Their brains are cooked with alcohol; their  
bloated stomachs burst—  
They belch and vomit lager beer—of God they  
are accursed!  
The people (I must speak the truth) deserve the  
blows they get;  
Omnipotent you say they are, the drunken,  
brainless set!  
Like sheep they lick the bloody hand that grasps  
the fatal knife;  
They bleat for salt—give mutton chops to Dives  
and his wife!  
You boast of "progress" in the past; you augur  
progress still;  
If it be progress, friend, alas! that progress is  
down hill!  
Our fathers stood like men indeed; of them we  
justly brag;  
They fought John Bull, what do we now? Salute  
the British flag!  
Such is the "progress" we have made; such  
progress soon will bring  
A House of Lords and Monarchy—long live Jay  
Gould, our king!  
'Tis money rules! The people fall prostrate be-  
fore the throne:  
Their bread is gone, the hungry curs now gladly  
gnaw a bone!

## OPTIMIST.

The drunkards are a feeble folk; besotted ones  
are few;  
The multitude are sober, man! intemperance  
they eschew;  
Tobacco will be thrown aside. The time is very  
near  
When woman, by her gentle voice, will end its  
vile career;  
But beer, wine, ale and alcohol will first go by  
the board,  
Then opium and tobacco she will banish with  
a word.  
So take a happier view of things, my very worthy  
friend;  
Believe the time is near at hand when wrong  
shall surely end;  
And let us cherish gentle thoughts, and let it be  
our plan  
To build up human happiness and free the race  
of man.  
Another day, good Pessimist, we may again re-  
new  
This very friendly dialogue, though now we  
say adieu.  
May 8, 1882.

\*Vide: York Town celebration, 1883.

## ESSAY V.—MUNICIPAL REFORM.

A BRIEF REPLY TO MR. KASSON.

MY CABIN HOME, Sept. 15, 1883.

Dear Mr. Kasson:—

I have carefully read your article in the *North American Review* of September, 1883, entitled, "Municipal Reform."

It seems to me that you take a wrong view of the matter. The evil is, that the people *do not* govern—but designing "bosses" hoodwink and mislead the masses, and prevent a fair expression of opinion by packing the primaries and "fixing things."

The doctrine of our fathers, as laid down by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, is, I think, the only true ground of political faith to be occupied by one who would be in line with progress. Reaction toward autocracy will never be maintained. It is my belief that you have departed from the faith of the fathers, and that the sentiments expressed in that article of yours will never be engrafted in our laws without a bloody struggle. I would die a thousand deaths before I would yield my assent to such principles.

Very Respectfully Yours,

LEONARD BROWN.

I do not believe with Mr. Kasson, that the "ruinous principle to be expelled from the business management of our cities, full of floating voters, is the rule which gives to a mere majority of irresponsible numbers the right of control, over the municipality;" I do not believe that the majority that so controls is a "corrupt mob;" I do not believe that "the people who do not pay are always ready to create debt against the people who must pay;"\* I do not believe it to be "a sound principle, which would justify a limitation of municipal suffrage to property owners and to the payers of taxes;" that is to say, I do not believe that as soon as the few have succeeded in robbing the many of all property, the many should cease to have a voice in the government of cities—that because a majority of the voters of the city of Boston, for instance, are non-taxpayers, therefore a majority of the voters of Boston ought to be disfranchised; and I do not believe that "the control of the mere majority of irresponsible numbers" is the "breeding nest of municipal speculation, corruption, waste and extravagance—the dark cavern of vicious politics, the lying-in asylum of illegitimate politicians, the nursery of corrupt practices."

The following "Associated Press Dispatch" that I chance at this moment to

see in a morning paper, explains the cause of corruption of city governments and shows also the remedy for it.

NASHVILLE, Oct. 12, 1883.

"The annual municipalelection to-day resulted in an overwhelming victory for the citizen's reform ticket over the candidates for re-election of the old municipal regime. The reform ticket is composed of blacks and whites for the first time in the history of the city. Tax-payers are jubilant over the defeat of 'boss' rule of the corrupt ward system."

"Boss" rule is what robs the city treasuries; not the rule of the poor laborers, mechanics and school-masters—poor whites or poor blacks who live by daily toil, not the rule of the people who do not pay taxes; for these are cheated out of a voice under "boss" rule of the "corrupt ward system." Vile "rings" of corrupt politicians "fixing" primaries govern these "boss"-robbed cities. This is clearly shown in George Walton Greene's "Facts About Caucus and Primary" in the same number of the *North American Review*, in which Mr. Kasson's "Municipal Reform" article appears. But the specific remedy is finally applied at Nashville. An appeal is taken to the poor "colored men" for help, and for the first time, in the history of that city, are these poor people treated with justice and magnanimity, and their manhood recognized. "The tax-payers are jubilant over the result" of universal manhood suffrage and fair play for the poor despised colored men.

Manifestly, the only true remedy for the evils that afflict all governments—City, State and National, is to extend the elective franchise to all adult citizens, male and female, native-born and naturalized, white and black, rich and poor, and thus make the public interests the business of all men and all women, and the chief study of the people in the home circle, support an independent press devoted to the interests of the many and not bound with adamant chains to the chariot wheels of monopoly and jobbery and corrupt "rings." There is no "corrupt mob" to out-vote the masses, male and female. Let these be not deceived and hoodwinked and misled by designing demagogues, and the administration of the affairs of City, State and Nation will be pure and satisfactory.

Mr. Kasson admits that in the most remarkable case in our annals this pilage of public funds was only revealed by an "independent press, and punished by the slow but firm uprising of an indignant community." This is a wonderful admission, pointing out, it appears to

\*No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

me, the only possible cure for the disorders Mr. Kasson complains of afflicting cities, and directing with index finger to correct "Municipal Reform" ~~is~~ "AN INDEPENDENT PRESS"—"FIRM UPRISING OF AN INDIGNANT COMMUNITY." The "community" need not go so far as to "usurp the duties of the regular officers of the law," as it did in the case he mentions; for the "community" is the only rightful appointer of "officers of the law." Let the "community" control and all is safe. Thieving politicians that usurp control through "boss" and "machine" management and who are not elected by a fair expression of the voice of the "community," must be put down. Let the people govern and all is well. But politicians elected to office by "tax-payers" alone, would not necessarily be more "honest" than if elected by the "irresponsible majority." It does not make an official "honest" because elected to place by rich men, nor dishonest because elected by poor men, and party knaves may deceive the rich "few" as easily as they do the poor "many"—"daily personal association lulling suspicion" as well in the one case as in the other. Is it true, what Victor Hugo says? "Imagine everybody governing! Can you fancy a city directed by the men who built it? They are the team, not the coachmen. What a god-send is a rich man who takes charge of everything! Surely he is generous to take this trouble for us!" Perhaps there is a little spark of irony in this, for Victor Hugo is a democrat. "It is," he says, "the people who are on-coming. I tell you it is MAN who ascends. Ah, this society is false. One day, and soon, the true society will come. Then there will be no more lords; there will be free, living men. There will be no more wealth, there will be abundance for the poor. There will be no more masters, but there will be brothers. They that toil shall have. This is the future. No more prostration, no more abasement, no more ignorance, no more wealth, no more beasts of burden, no more courtiers, no more kings—but LIGHT!"

Would not Mr. Kasson's logic end in making city governments and all other governments autocratic—upheld by and upholding a hateful plutocracy, as two boards on end leaning together, uphold each other—and would it not bring back "divine right of kings?" Would there not be a Dictator at Washington, supported by and supporting the plutocrats of New York and Boston—agents of London "financiers," the Barings and Rothschilds—this Dictator appointing

"commissioners" to govern cities and States, as Washington City and Utah Territory are tyrannized over to-day.—"model governments," according to Mr. Kasson's reasoning, Washington City being governed by a board of three "commissioners," appointed by the President—("Dictator")—and Utah Territory by a board of five "commissioners," appointed by the President—("Dictator")! These issue "rules"—or, in other words, *make laws* for City and for Territory. This "commission" system is a damnable tyranny, and history will so define it. And this sort of government is preparing for all American States and Cities, and Mr. Kasson's paper, entitled "Municipal Reform" is, it seems to me, a finger-board pointing the way to its speedy inauguration. "Bosses" (corrupt politicians, who have been fed at the public crib for a quarter of a century, and petted by the people until they have come to despise their masters), are evidently plotting and planning the overthrow of democratic freedom on this continent. It is time the patriots (toilers) of our country awakened from their slumber of false security.

Mr. Kasson certainly fails to make clear a distinction between city and State government. The State does not "give" the people of a city the right of self-government. "All power is inherent in the people." The city is a "State," and the earliest to adopt democratic governments—Athens and Rome, for instance. The functions of the city legislature are as important to the welfare of the people of a city, rich and poor, as are the functions of a state legislature important to the welfare of the people of a State, rich and poor. The State, I repeat, does not "give" the city the right of self-government any more than the Federal Government "gives" each State, admitted into the Union, the right of self-government. This right is God-given—a "Divine right." Democratic government is peculiarly well fitted to the wants of cities, and ever pre-eminently satisfactory—calling out and developing the highest order of manhood. Democracies alone produce great men. Let our cities become more and more democratic; for the "irresponsible majority of numbers," that Mr. Kasson sneers at, will always do the right when they know the right. When they do wrong it is when they are misled. The poor non-tax-paying voters are not robbers. Poor men are ever the most ready to give their lives an offering to save their country's flag and liberty.

## ESSAY VI.—THE PATH OF PEACE.

## I. THE NEW REPUBLIC.

According to the generally recognized law of evolution, what is to be must proceed from what now is. And history teaches that sudden and radical changes in government are seldomly made by the popular vote in time of peace. The American Republic, born of revolution, was patterned after the commonwealth of Oliver Cromwell in many essential respects. Our common law is the same as England's. The kinship of the two governments is plainly discernable. The Tree of Liberty that our fathers planted (arrived at mature growth and full fruitage), is the "New Republic" that is to be.

That there may be no misunderstanding of my meaning by the reader, the following theses, embodying briefly a statement of the principal social reforms advocated by my pen, are here presented.

1. Most ample provision should be made by the several states and by the general government for the kindly and bountiful care and education, under the most devoted, philanthropic and competent teachers, nurses and matrons, of all orphan, helpless and destitute children and youth, to the end that it may be good for children to be born.

2. Most ample provision should be made by the several states and the general government for the kindly care of all helpless people, to the end that no one may be obliged to beg his bread.

3. All pains, penalties, punishments and tortures of criminals should be abolished, and the several states and the general government should establish reformatory institutions, comprising factories, workshops and schools, giving them healthful employment and remunerative wages, uniform with the wages of workingmen generally, and kindly direction in the path of righteousness, to the end that all moral disease may be thus cured and complete moral and mental healthfulness secured.

4. Equality should be brought about by the abrogation of all monopolies, including monopoly of the lands, of the medium of exchange and of the tools of production; and instead of competition, which is another name for war, instituting what alone will bring universal peace, harmony and christian love—a beneficent system that may be appropriately and correctly styled,

## II. UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION.

To secure this most important result (it being the foundation on which the new social structure must rest, its corner-stone freedom and not slavery), land limitation laws should be immediately passed, and the individual own-

ership of land confined to actual occupants of the soil. Our circulating medium (money) should be only legal-tender government scrip and (until completely outgrown in the popular thought), specie freely and unlimitedly coined by the government for the owners of bullion, according to their wishes, they paying the expense of its coinage, yet not made legal tender, but left free to circulate on "intrinsic value" alone, which would exactly accord with the teachings of the hard money advocates, who say that "intrinsic value gives to specie its money quality—gold and silver being money by virtue of the metal, and not (they say), by virtue of law;" while on the other hand, it is claimed (correctly too, I think,) by the advocates of an exclusively paper money, that "law alone monetizes, and law alone demonetizes,—that money is wholly a creature of law, and that no substance is money *per se*, gold and silver being no more money, according to their nature, than is paper. Money quality is conventional entirely."

Popular control of the finance and the abolition of interest is demanded for the benefit of production, the cost of exchange to be reduced to zero; the only end for which money should exist, being to facilitate production and the equitable distribution of products. Let all banks of deposit become governmental savings banks, that no loss may result to depositors. Let legal tender paper money be invested by government in lands, mines, manufactories, ships, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, irrigating canals, etc., etc., to the end that private capital shall no longer employ labor—lands free, money free, tools free—all industry co-operative—a truly democratic government itself being only a huge co-operative association, in which all the individuals of the commonwealth (men and women), have equal rights, franchises, privileges, advantages and interests—"life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," being guaranteed protection alike to each and all, by the common compact enforced by the popular will, crystallized into law.

To this condition must all human society ultimately come. The universal thought of humanity is most rapidly culminating in this opinion—fraternal organization is being fast perfected the world over, and all men, except those blinded by avarice, see the day near at hand when old things shall have passed completely away and all things shall have become new—not only old utensils, old machinery and old means of locomotion, transportation, distribution of products, diffusion of intelligence, etc.,

But old forms of government also. Society is about to be reorganized upon the granite foundation of equality voiced in the Declaration of American Independence, and primarily taught by Jesus Christ, and first instituted (soon after his crucifixion) by his apostles and the other disciples at Jerusalem, with James his brother the first president of the model commonwealth. "All that believed were together and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need." (Acts ii, 44-45).

Whoever is shocked at this idea of human equality, let him burn his New Testament at once and pronounce himself an infidel for he surely lacks fidelity to the fundamental idea of Christianity, expressed in the command, "Love thy neighbor as thyself"—a religion manifestly designed, by its divine founder, to make mankind socially one family of loving brothers and sisters.

### III. THE NEW ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Monopoly, the basis of wage slavery, must be put down, to the end that private capital, I repeat, shall no longer employ labor, and all industry shall become co-operative, the toilers selling in the markets of the world the products of his own labor, but not his labor, labor ceasing to be a marketable commodity, the system of slavery being broken down in which labor is sold to the highest bidder, as the laborer himself was formerly sold. The wage slave master grows rich by the same process the chattel slave master did, allowing his slaves (be it remembered always to the utter condemnation of the system), not so much as the chattel slave master by the nature of that system of bondage and the dictates of humanity, that could not be ignored, was compelled to allow his slaves; for the chattel slave master cared for them in sickness and old age; but the wage slave master, today, in this so-called "Christian" land, is exempt from this obligation, allowing his poor slaves, out of the proceeds of their own labor, merely a meager subsistence *while at work*, with the right to lock them out and shut down the mill for weeks and months at a time, to "lessen production and advance the price of products;" the workers, in the meantime, cut off from the opportunity to earn bread, are compelled to starve or beg, many of them becoming tramps. The balance of the products of the laborer's toil remaining in the possession of the master, enriches him. He luxuriates at Long Branch "during the hot season," or sips champagne in the cafes of Paris, while his poor slaves swelter at their toil and go hungry to bed, the employer setting the price of the marketable commodity, labor.

The only veto the wage slaves may attempt against this cruel tyranny is the strike. If this be not met by a "lock out," it will be proclaimed a "riot," and the bayonet will settle the dispute in favor of the wage slave master, of course.

Wage slaves, I concede, are not literally hunted down with bloodhounds, as the chattel slaves were; but they are imprisoned as "conspirators" for advising a strike. A starving family takes the place of a whipping post. Imprisonment in penitentiary for the crime of being a "tramp" (Connecticut law), saves the wage slave driver the costs and trouble that "abolitionists" used to bring on the chattel slave driver by their "fanatical" opposition to the fugitive slave law. A willingness to "work for what you can get" is thus "brought home" to the minds of the wage slaves, and starvation and coercion bring peace and submission.

The cruelties of wage slavery are the hidden, studied, cold-blooded, diabolical cruelties of refined barbarity,—the inflictor washing his blood-bespattered hands and asking, "Am I my brother's keeper?"—a hundred-fold more severe than are the lashings and the other open horrors of chattel slavery.

How long will the eyes of philanthropists be blind to these evils?—and to the sufferings of those countless millions, deprived even of salt by the heartless cupidity of the British tyrant! Wage slaves are frequently compelled to work in silence like convicts, not being allowed by their masters to converse with each other while at their tasks. "No admittance" placarded on the entrance door of the factory warns the visitor to "keep out." Indeed the words that Dante found written on the portal of Hell are also written "in colors dim" on the doors of the great slave hives of New England:

"All hope abandon ye who enter here."

The burdens under which the damned are doomed to groan, according to the same divine poet, are not unlike those borne by wage slaves:

"Each as his back was laden came indeed  
Or more or less contracted, and it seemed  
As he who showed most patience in his look  
Wailing, exclaimed: I can endure no more."  
PURGATORY, BOOK X.

### IV. FREEDOM INALIENABLE.

I have only the right to sell the products of my labor, if to sell my labor I sell my freedom; for no man has a right to part with his liberty. No one has a right to say to another, "Go here," or "Go there," and no one can lawfully acquire the right of command over another.

It is not, however, the isolated fact that labor itself is sold, that renders the wage system slavery, but it is the other

fact ever accompanying it, that the laborer necessarily enters a chain gang as the result of that sale, the employer "exercising authority upon him," becoming his "boss."

I know the lawyers say that in the social compact, called "government," man must of necessity surrender a certain portion of his God-given freedom. I deny it. In a properly organized democratic state (like that in the mind of Jefferson when he penned the Declaration of Independence), man will lose none of his natural freedom. From the cradle to the grave there will be no change in the ever musical onflow of the river of life. As the child is uncontrolled in its play, so will man be uncontrolled at his work.

Will some philosopher rise and explain why the freedom and activity of childhood should be lost in manhood; why the interest and happiness the child exhibits in its play may not be shown by all men and all women at their work?—work being only a continuance of child play, if false education and false systems of labor did not step in to interfere with gentle nature that leads the child. The child is perfectly free. That freedom begets activity. The soul born to freedom dances delighted (its normal state is happiness), as the glassy water leaps laughingly down the pebbly pathway of a meadow brook that stagnates when dammed up, and green scum covers its once sparkling surface—the sunshine no longer penetrating and lighting up the palace of beauty—the home of the free and happy—the halls where revel the finny inhabitants, that know no restraint but nature's law. Let all man-made laws be repealed that contravene the God-made statute; then will all men and all women, becoming (or continuing), as little children "enter the kingdom of God."

#### W. CIVIL SERVICE UNDER WAGE INDUSTRY.

Everyone has a God-given right to an opportunity to earn a living by honest labor. When that opportunity has been embraced it should not be taken away without cause. The laws, even under the wage system, should enforce "civil service" in all branches of labor—should compel the manufacturer to run his establishment, not for his own private profit alone, but for the good of all parties concerned. For shutting down his factory, without good and sufficient reason, he should be held answerable to the law—should be compelled to make good all damage to the workers thrown out of employment by his selfish, wicked act.

And right here lie vital inquiries—the heart and soul of the wage controversy, viz.

First. Do the rights of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness—" the "in-

alienable rights," for which the war of the American Revolution was waged and victory won,—give to the laborers any further title in the workshop, farm, railroad or mine, that affords them employment from which their subsistence is derived,—than barely their daily, weekly or monthly wages?

Answer. They certainly do.

The workers, by whose labor and skill the workshop, factory, farm, railroad or mine are operated, have a natural right of possession, equal with the employer himself, because, without this the "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," cannot be maintained. That "higher law" may be stated in the following words:

1. Existing relations shall not be sundered without cause, and

2. Every important controversy shall be decided by a competent court, that is to say, by arbitrators.

A right similar to that accruing to parties in marriage—and for the same reason—the common welfare—the final balance by which all social relations are weighed and brought to equipoise.

Second. How can an equitable legal eviction of either party be reached through the decision of a court of arbitration or of appeal?

Answer. If (1) the employer will not acquiesce in the decision of the court of arbitration, or of that of a final court of appeal, let appraisers determine the value of the employer's interest, and let the workers be permitted to organize as a co-operative firm, and go forward with the business, paying a fair per cent of their profits as rent.

If (2) the workers refuse to acquiesce in the decision of the court of arbitration, or of final appeal, let bids be advertised by the court for other competent workers to take the places declared vacant, on the same conditions as the court had decided to be just, and if others respond and are ready to go to work on those terms, let them be installed in the places of the first by the officers of the law. But if none appear, let the workshop, factory, plantation, railroad or mine remain unused and idle until the mutual interests of employers and employed set the wheels of the industry in motion again; for we have, I trust, come about to the end of both chattel and wage slavery.

If (3) it be conceded that the industry would return a living reward to both employers and employed, and by combination and agreement among themselves, workers will not take the places declared by the judges vacant, there can be, clearly, no remedy, but the abandonment of the effete wage system and the inauguration, through governmental assistance, of co-operative industry. Let the dead bury its dead. We have manifestly come upon a time when wage industry is about to die, as chattel

slavery died twenty-five years ago (but peacefully, I trust) and a better system take its place. This pre-ordained time having arrived on the dial-plate of civilization, it is as futile for capitalists to attempt, through the instrumentality of armed guards, armed and mercenary detectives, and armed policemen, to prolong the existence of the dead system as the bloody endeavor of the southern planters, to keep alive chattel slavery, was futile. The avarice of the few ought not be permitted again to bring upon the American nation civil war. The change from wage slavery to co-operative industry is inevitable, and can no more be prevented or delayed, than can the annual revolution of the earth around the sun be prevented or delayed by the puny efforts of men; because progressive ideas move irresistably forward in a right line to their pre-ordained goal.

The so-called "legal" evictions of the poor renters in Ireland, are not as tyrannical as are the illegal evictions of the poor wage-workers of America, who have been compelled by the cupidity of heartless employers to quit work temporarily (strike), for the purpose of obtaining justice. Instead of the authorities of our country reaching out a helping hand to the oppressed workers, as they ought to do, they arm policemen, guards and detectives, and instruct them to shoot down innocent and suffering men, women, and little children, in order to aid the meanest tyrants that ever cursed the world, to literally starve into submission and abject slavery the poor wage-workers who have dared to offer a protest against outrageous oppression—and this the officials do without any authority of court—without any form whatever of legal order; but it is done by the arbitrary ukase of (it may be), drunken chiefs of police, the pampered dogs of the corporations. If the State authorities do not hasten to enact laws compelling employers and employed to go at once before a magistrate, as soon as a misunderstanding arises between them, and compelling the shutting down of the business until the quarrel has been adjusted before a competent and impartial court—then are the authorities of the State blind and deaf and dumb to the interests and rights of the people.

## VI. LABOR SUPERIOR TO CAPITAL.

The Declaration of Independence of 1776 settles forever, that the inalienable rights of man are superior to the so-called rights of property. In accordance with, and to enforce the law of, the Declaration of Independence, strikes arise. In accordance with, and to enforce the British doctrine that our fathers opposed in an eight-years' war, and suppressed through the establishment of the principles of the Declaration of Independence in the capture of Yorktown, by their

own invincible bravery and the aid of French arms—which we should ever remember with gratitude—the city authorities of our country, mayors and police—and the State authorities—governors, sheriffs and "State regulars," assisted by Pinkerton's armed Hessians, —always take the side of the property owners whenever a strike occurs—assuming that the rights of property are superior and paramount to all other rights, when in truth the rights of property may be defined as *nothing*, and the rights of man *everything*, when one is weighed in the balance against the other—and those authorities proceed at once, without warrant of court—yea, and without any warrant whatever, but their own arbitrary wills, to evict the workers—shooting them down.\* It is here in America no different from the proceedings of the British authorities in Ireland—except that the officials of our country are more arbitrary than are the British officials in oppressed Erin, since they never go forward there to the work of eviction, except in obedience to the mandate of a court, however tyrannical; here, governors, sheriffs, mayors and chiefs of police are only corporation tools, when they move against "strikers" to evict them—not being executors of the decrees of courts, but only carrying out the arbitrary decrees of corporation Czars.

The British authorities in Ireland, it is true, recognize no rights whatever, except the rights (so-called, of property owners (landlords), though the tenants have had for centuries (they and their fathers before them) possession of the holdings they now occupy, and of the houses built by their and their fathers' money and labor. By force of arms the people are turned out of doors upon the roadside—driven from their ancestral homes by non-resident, alien tyrants. The rights of man are wholly ignored in Great Britain, and the "rights of property" are worshiped as a fetish. So here the same doctrine is enforced, in the interest of corporation kings, without warrant of law and contrary to the principles of American liberty. Workers are evicted by force of arms from their holdings, for they do not surrender their

## \*THE SITUATION AT BROOKLYN.

BROOKLYN, Jan. 31.—A car on the Greenwood and Fifth Avenue route, one of the Richardson Line, went over the entire route at 3:30 this morning escorted by thirty-six mounted policemen. Crowds of people lined the streets but there was no disturbance.

Without doubt the most remarkable and striking feature of to-day's developments was the command of Inspector Williams to his men this morning when the detail was being made for the day. He said, and his words had marked effect on those who heard them. "If the crowd use clubs, you use your pistols. Have no nonsense about it. I want no play—no foolishness. If necessary, use your pistols, and use them well. Shoot to kill."—*Press Dispatch*.

places—and the authorities know this—by the act of “striking” against the tyranny of corporate greed. They only temporarily halt—as soldiers do on a march—momentarily cease to carry forward a certain line of business, in order to appeal to the public for justice against tyranny. And the strikers are always willing and anxious to abide by the decisions of any competent and impartial tribunal the people may ordain, to decide between them and their oppressors. But the law—because of the interference of corporation tyrants, with legislation, and their influence with legislators and governors—because they have been (only temporarily, I trust) enthroned as the dictators of our laws, and are able to forbid in advance, or to veto by corruptly controlling the courts after its enactment, any legislation in the interest of labor in workshop or on farm—the law, I say, has failed as yet to create a peaceful tribunal to settle these differences. But the authorities falsely, wickedly and tyrannically assume that the places are vacated *de facto* and *de jure*, when they were not meant to be, and have not been, vacated at all, which the authorities well know, and they proceed to drive the workmen away from their holdings by means of police batons, revolvers, repeating rifles and Gatling-guns. The people must put a stop to this detestable interference without warrant of law, of governors, sheriffs, mayors, police and Pinkerton’s armed mercenaries, in the war of property against man, or man will again be compelled to enforce the recognition of his inalienable rights, as our fathers were compelled to do in 1776.

So the question must now be finally and forever answered and put to rest, viz: Are the rights of property superior to the natural rights of man? That is the question our fathers gave an unequivocal negative answer to in the Revolutionary conflict of eight years against the armed battalions of Great Britain and of Hessian mercenaries—and that is the question the “boys in blue” gave an unequivocal negative answer to in the four years conflict against the armed upholders of chattel slavery. Will it be again necessary for the wage workers and farmers of America to shoulder their muskets in a bloody struggle against organized monopoly, to answer for the third and last time this question in the negative? I trust not. The shooting down of the people by organized bands of policemen, detectives, and guards, by the order of police chiefs, mayors, sheriffs and governors must stop at once and forever; and when a strike occurs, the law must compel the parties in the dispute to appear immediately before a court—an impartial tribunal—to have the quarrel settled in a peaceful way, and governors, sheriffs, mayors, policemen, “State regulars,”

and armed mercenary bands of detectives, must not proceed arbitrarily and wickedly, as they now are in the habit of doing, to settle the dispute by force of arms, or soon force will be called, as in 1776, to meet force, in order to answer finally “nay,” the question—are the so-called rights of property superior to the inalienable rights of man?

The wish, purpose, aim and intention of the authorities to help the employers defeat the employed, can be no better shown than was shown in Chicago at the time of the car-drivers’ strike in 1888. The chief of police, or the mayor, (one or the other, I do not now remember which), issued an order forbidding hacks and carriages from running on certain streets to carry passengers, because of the “danger of riots,” and for the sake of “better preserving the peace.” Now, if the chief of police, or the mayor of the city, had the right (and no one will deny that he had,) to stop hacks and carriages from running in order to “preserve the peace,” why did he not stop the proprietors of the street cars from attempting to run their cars before they had settled the quarrel with their employees? Here was the real source of danger and conflict. Any man that has any sense at all, can see plainly that it was the duty of the city authorities to forbid the running of the street cars until the quarrel had been settled between the employers and the employed, unless the authorities chose to take the side of the employers against the strikers. And it is what they did. And it is what they have no legal or moral right to do; but they do it always and in defiance of right, justice and morality, and in violation of the peace. It is a declaration of war—(it is war itself)—by the authorities against the people, the same as when Charles I. of England set up his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642, and as when the British regulars landed in Boston, October 1, 1768, and if persisted in will inevitably end, as did those rash and arbitrary acts of British tyrants, in bloodshed and revolution. Before a court has spoken, before the dispute has been settled by the decision of a competent board of arbitration, the authorities have no right to give aid to the car-mill or factory owners against the strikers. But, on the contrary, it is the duty of the authorities in the interest of peace and justice to forbid the cars, mills, factories, etc., to run before the quarrel has been settled by the decision of a court of arbitration; because, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, “*Labor is the superior of Capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.*”

If asked to define in brief the essential difference between American and English law, I would say, that in the contemplation of American law, labor is the superior of capital; in that of English law capital is the superior of

labor. I insist that the supremacy of the inalienable rights of man above the rights (so-called) of property, is the fundamental idea of the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and the foundation principle of American law. Any legislation, and any action of officials of government not in accord with this principle is tyranny. Tried by this rule, many of the laws enacted by the Congress of the United States and by the legislatures of the several States of the Union, during the past twenty years, are tyrannical, viz: the national laws establishing gigantic corporations that build up the wealth of the few at the expense of the many; and the so-called "conspiracy laws," and the laws creating the national guard, passed by the State legislatures, since their only object is to enslave labor and enthrone capital. All that is required to bring about needed reform in our country, is legislation along the line marked out by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and strictly to that line; we must hold our lawmakers. And to that end let the workingmen organize and in every election cast their ballots.

#### VII. CO-OPERATION AND MONEY-INTEREST

Primitive man procured food, (wild fruits, acorns, game and fish), by either isolated or by associated effort, but when associated with others in effort, he received his equitable share of the proceeds of their united toil. Hence co-operation is not a new invention of theorists, but the most ancient, as it is the most just, natural and rational system of industry, all other systems being comparatively novel as well as unjust, artificial and irrational.

It has been proposed by some to inaugurate universal co-operation by fixing the rate of interest to be paid the capitalists by the operatives on the cost of the manufactories, and to include the capitalists among the sharers in the profits and members of the co-operative firm. This would be but right, if, as Mr. Henry George says, "interest is just, being based on the active power of nature—the principle of growth—of reproduction—a return over and above that which is to be attributed to labor. \* \* I put away wine; at the end of the year I will have increased value. I set out bees; at the end of the year I will have more swarms. I turn out hogs, or sheep, or cattle; at the end of the year I will, upon an average, also have an increase. This is," he says, "interest." "Thus," he declares, "interest springs from the power of increase which the reproductive powers of nature and the, in effect, analogous capacity for exchange, give to capital. \* \* \* It is just."—*Progress and Poverty, Book III, Chap. 2.*

I deny that interest is just. This attempt of that great writer to draw an-

alogy from nature for its support in reason is, I think, far-fetched. I deny that it has any foundation in good policy, in reason or in right. It is wrong, since it encourages the hoarding of money to lend, and discourages investments in productive property, to the extent that interest absorbs production, operating as does rent, to enrich the few and impoverish the many. To be sure, in the present case, the capitalist, is it conceded, has already invested his money, directly in productive property, giving employment to labor; but the article of interest is a tax on production still, building up the wealth of the few at the expense of the many. There must ever be rich men and poor men as long as interest on money is paid by the many to the few; which fact itself reduces to an absurdity, it seems to me, the argument of Mr. George for interest; because the "true commonwealth" that he would establish brings population to a condition in which neither poverty nor riches is known. His "Anti-poverty" is anti-riches, also; for the whole amount of wealth in the United States, divided by the whole number of people, men, women and children, leaves but a small quantity to each.

Interest may be defined tax as a on labor and production for the benefit of idlers. And because wine grows better by age, bees, sheep, kine and hogs increase naturally, and plants grow while the farmer sleeps, is no proof that this natural power of increase inheres in money; for the price placed upon money is arbitrarily fixed by the bank syndicates, who have been granted the monopoly of furnishing to the people that tool of exchange, though the syndicates themselves receive the tool directly from the government, free of interest. The one per cent. per annum tax paid by the national bankers to the United States government for their bank currency, hardly reimburses the government for the cost of printing the bills—and upon the sixty million dollars of money deposited by the government in those banks, no interest is charged, and now if suddenly withdrawn a financial crash will ensue.

A most terrible wrong to the many, is the national banking system of the United States—the government making to the owners of bonds, deposited "for security," practically an interminable free loan or gift of nearly five hundred million dollars of money to be re-loaned by them to the people at eight or ten per cent. per annum interest. This monopoly must inevitably enoble the few and enslave the many. Like an eating cancer in the throat of a strong man, it has, I fear, an almost fatal hold upon the vitals of the republic. Why might not the many be thus favored by the government? Why not the maxim, "the greatest good to the greatest number," be practically enforced? Why are spe-

cial privileges granted the few? If I could impress upon the minds of the producers of America this most important truth, and lead them to insist upon its enforcement by Congress, that this loan of hundreds of millions of dollars, instead of being given, as it is, without cost to usurers (the present favored recipients of this great bounty), to enrich them, ought rather to be extended, without cost, to the toilers, so as to afford labor remunerative employment, through a harmonious system of co-operative industry, and thus build up co-operation by national "protection of labor," directly give and bestowed from the federal treasury, I would most assuredly receive from posterity the then well-merited title of savior of my country and emancipator of mankind.

#### VIII. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS.

The proposal of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler to distribute the surplus revenue, accumulated in the national treasury, in gratuities to ex-union soldiers, if carried into practice, would be a very proper and most grateful act of justice toward those whose valor preserved to us "a home and a country."

But let the government devote the surplus to building up co-operative industry—establishing co-operative factories, opening co-operative mines, digging irrigating canals, sinking artesian wells, etc., (as it has already by donations of money subsidies, built up twenty-five hundred national banks, which are purely co-operative associations of money-lenders), and the "greatest good to the greatest number" will result. The old Union soldiers ask only, in common with all other toilers, an opportunity to earn a living by honest labor, without being robbed of their earnings by syndicates of pampered government pets.

The proposal of Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson of the University of Pennsylvania, points in the right direction, viz: to "distribute the surplus periodically among the States in proportion to population, with the proviso that they shall expend it in paying their debts, in extinguishing illiteracy and in defraying the ordinary cost of state governments." If he had added also, "and in establishing co-operative manufactories, opening mines and developing the agricultural resources of the states," I would fully agree with him. The states would, then, soon have no trouble to "pay their debts, to extinguish illiteracy and meet the costs of government," if the laborers were universally employed in co-operative industries; for production would be thus increased a thousand-fold, enriching both the producers and the State. Why are so many farms in the new prairie states under mortgage? It is because, in addition to extortionate freight rates and high taxes, the cost of equip-

ment of a farm (machinery, buildings, etc.) is so great now that the homesteader has no way to meet it except by borrowing money at high interest rates on his land. Under the old system the farmer made his own tools; or such as he was obliged to purchase, were so simple and so cheap that their cost was easily met. The rude pioneer cabin was built of logs felled on the very ground where the cabin was to stand, and axe and auger were the only tools with which the pioneer worked to build it. So that our fathers who first settled the states east of the Mississippi, were comparatively free from the necessity of contracting onerous indebtedness. Instead of contracting the currency to enrich money lenders, and depositing the surplus, without interest, in national banks, loans ought now to be extended by government to the farmers and other producers, at a rate of interest not above the tax paid by national bankers for their notes, and for as long a time as a bank charter lasts, that is, twenty years; or without interest; for if the government can afford to deposit sixty million dollars of the surplus in national banks, without interest, as it has done, it can loan as much, and a million times more if needed, without interest, to the agriculturalists and other producers, on whose broad shoulders the government rests, who willingly took down the rangers from above their cabin doors to resist the tyranny of the mother country in 1776, to defend their country's rights again in 1812, and to save the nation's life by their valor, on a hundred bloody battle-fields in 1861.

#### IX. "GOD BLESS OUR HOME."

I would have the commonwealth so regulate the ownership of land that every family would live upon a homestead that they might truthfully call "our home." Nothing on earth so sacred as this—nothing so grand as this! The poetry of human existence centers right here. Here we behold mother, wife and children, and here is uttered but this one sentiment—'God bless our home!' Life is all here. All of earth is here. Without this right of homestead, a man has no footing on this planet. He may, it is true, breathe the vital air; but water he may not procure, or bread, except he do feudal homage to some other human being. He must dig on other's land for water, he must plow in other's field for bread. Like the Glorious One, "He hath not place whereon to lay his head;" and like him he will be crucified. He has no way to protect himself—no ground whereon to stand; but he is a wanderer, "buffeted and spit upon, mocked and despised."

The natural right of each to a life possession of a limited portion of land rests on the fact that each must live, during his earth-life, off the products of land;

and so much land as is required for the growth of the raw products necessary to his support, belongs as assuredly, by divine right, to each individual, as does the inalienable possession of his own right hand belong to him, with which he guides the spade or the plow that turns up the soil wherein he plants the seed-grain that grows him bread to appease his hunger and that of his helpless, dependent children and the wife he loves.

The necessity is forced upon us now, more than ever before, for protecting the ownership of land in the possession of the many; because the government lands open to homestead entry and pre-emption claim, being nearly all taken up, it will be, in a little while, more profitable for capitalists to monopolize the lands than to invest their money in railroads, bonds, etc.; and land ownership will become, in a short time, in this country, as in Europe it has been for thousands of years, the most sure way to wealth and dignity. There is no law now in America to prevent land monopoly; and a judge of one of our courts, in a western state, (Wisconsin I think), gave an opinion several years ago, that "laws limiting land proprietorship are unconstitutional, as they," he said, "interfere with or annul the obligation of contracts."

That is to say, the prohibition by law of a syndicate of capitalists from purchasing in the market, if they see fit and can do so, all the agricultural lands of Wisconsin, and converting that state into one huge bonanza farm, would be, according to this opinion, a violation of the constitution of the United States.

To be sure, such an unwarranted "Dred Scott decision," can not long block the wheels of progress any more than did the noted "Dartmouth College Case." The Grangers, (like Olympic Jupiter of the Illiad) "shook their invincible locks and gave the nod," in 1871, and the car of progress again moved on. It is well understood by courts, and all other parties concerned, that inalienable rights must and shall be preserved, and the happiness of the people made secure. This is the "higher law" of the Declaration of Independence of 1776, that courts, congresses, or presidents dare not disregard, when the people speak.

It must seem to the superficial observer that one might of right sell to whomever is able to buy, and that whoever is able to buy might of right purchase whatever is in the market for sale. But the late corners on wheat, pork, oatmeal, sugar, coffee, etc., are fast leading the American people to think that old maxims of political economy may become outgrown and obsolete.

Short-sighted those greedy men, in their haste to get rich, seem to be! Destroying, through pools and corners, the equilibrium produced by competition,

they inevitably bury thus the dead competitive system of trade, manufacturing, etc. Associating to rob the people, the people sooner or later, will be obliged to associate for their own mutual protection—the unavoidable outcome of which will be co-operation, resulting in emancipation of labor, freedom, enlightenment, happiness, peace, grandeur, glory, harmony, perfection—a universal christian commonwealth—the United States of the World!

The land must be made the inalienable inheritance of the many; it must not be "cornered" by the few. If true, as currently reported, that the Vanderbilt's wealth aggregates two hundred and seventy-four million dollars, they alone could purchase, at their present market value, all the agricultural lands comprising not less than twenty counties of our beautiful and most fruitful State of Iowa.\* I need not argue this point, because every one must see the danger when a half-dozen American millionaires may be named who jointly are rich enough to purchase every acre of the farm lands of Iowa. Why have they not done this long ago? Because, up to this time, it has paid them better to invest their money in railroads, telegraphs, oil, lands, mines, manufacturing, etc., than in agricultural lands.

But the farmers, by their praiseworthy efforts, through Grange and Alliance, to curb the greed of railroad corporations, and thus make agriculture a "paying business," are only paving the way for their own children to become renters on the very same farms their fathers once owned; for when farming shall be made a really profitable business, the present land owners will be dispossessed of their lands by foreclosure of mortgages, and by other unjust means well understood by the capitalists, who have the producers at their mercy, and who can by manipulating the finance of the nation (contracting the national bank circulation for instance), bankrupt every producer in the United States in ninety days, then buy up the real estate of the producing class.

\*There is one American family whose private fortunes amount to \$274,000,000, considerably more than one half of the total valuation of taxable property in Iowa. There are five citizens with fortunes averaging \$50,000, 00 each, fifty with \$10,000,000, one hundred with \$5,000,500,000, two hundred with \$3,000,000, five hundred with \$1,000,000, and one thousand with \$3,500,000. In other words, 1,855 persons own more than \$3,000,000,000, or twice as much as all the money in the country. A less number of men, not to exceed 1,000—railroad magnates, princely bankers, and heads of vast corporations—have as complete control as actual ownership of at least \$26,000,000,000 more. And Rev. Joseph Cook says, "Two thousand capitalists own more than all the rest of the sixty five millions of our population. \* \* \* If present causes which produce concentration of capital continue, the republic will soon be owned by less than fifty thousand men."

at their own price, bidding most of it in at sheriff's sales. The time is near at hand, yea, even at our very doors, when a few home and foreign syndicates will become the only proprietors of land in the United States, unless the people rise up in their might and prevent it by law—which I anticipate they will shortly do. Capitalists now own all the mines and manufactories. They have only to take possession of the lands to leave the ninety and nine entirely disinherited, and as dependent upon the few for the bread of life as a dog is upon his master.

Indeed the syndicates, that own the railroads, do (it may be truthfully affirmed) practically own the farms now, and the farmers are only renters, because those syndicates are able to collect whatever rent the land will bear, by means of extortionate rates charged for transportation of farm products; but when the people have succeeded in breaking up this species of robbery, placing the farmers in a position to realize large profits from farming, will the syndicates most assuredly become the direct owners of all the agricultural lands bordering on their several lines of road, as they have already become the direct owners of most of the coal lands along their respective lines of road, and they will have those agricultural lands worked for their own emolument, as they now have the coal mines worked for their own emolument, unless prevented by positive law.

#### X. WHAT THE LAW MUST SAY.

It must be declared by fundamental law that no private corporation may own productive (agricultural or mineral) lands, and that no individual may own beyond a given number of acres of land. I would have all surplus lands appraised fairly, and the owners fully reimbursed for them by the government in "lawful money," (greenbacks). I would have those lands resold in small homesteads, at their actual cost, on long time to individuals who would actually occupy and work them. As to cities and city lots, I am of opinion that no man ought to live upon a less tract of land for a home than seven acres. Let cities fall into decay, as at present built. Let them stand as do the dead Zuni towns, monuments of a former age of semi-barbarism; for they only breed moral and physical pestilence on earth. But rapid transit is bound to destroy compact cities and spread population over the country. Soon the distinction between city and country will be lost.

If I seem to speak in favor of the commonwealth owning the lands, I mean it not in a sense to interfere with individual ownership of a home for each. I see the time near, however, when, to utilize costly machinery, the people must cultivate the grain fields under some kind of co-operative system—a sort of commu-

nity of ownership must be resorted to of necessity. Thus will arise co-operative farming. If the grain fields of Iowa should be thus held in *quasi* common ownership by all the people of the state—each man, woman and child possessing a like share or interest in them, a grand system of drainage, irrigation, enrichment of the soil by scientific methods may be realized, and the utilization of ponderous machinery, so that a township might, after awhile, be plowed up in a day with a single machine; for who will set bounds to the possibilities of invention?

Mr. George's "land theory," is, I think, defective, not in the idea of community of ownership of land, but in that of *tenant farming*. Five hundred millions of people may jointly own the productive lands of the United States as well as one hundred people may jointly own a bank. But every one must, besides have *standing room*—a plot of ground that he may call his own, not to be violated while he lives, any more than his grave may be violated when he is dead. Let "equality" be written in the fundamental law of the land as it is written in the New Testament, where the Apostle Paul says: "I mean not that other men be eased and ye burdened, but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality."

The lands will be cultivated after a little while, with costly machinery beyond the reach of private ownership, the cost of cultivation being met by a tax on each farm of a given number of acres and adjusted according to productiveness of lands—(as the cost of carrying the mails is met by a tax on each letter or package of a given weight) the best scholarship and engineering skill will be called into requisition—the whole continent honey-combed with artesian wells, canals and reservoirs for irrigating purposes dug, mighty machines utilized to bring forth the common means of support of a numerous population who will be thus rendered comfortable.

So will the people co-operate to bring out all the hidden resources of nature for the support of human life—the billions of money now worse than wasted upon standing armies, muskets, Krupp guns, ships of war, fortifications, etc., will be directed to making the deserts blossom as the rose—rent, usury and private capital employing labor will be abolished, and the industry of all men and all women will be devoted to the "public service"—making every home a "White House," and all work a dignified office—and each and every legitimate pursuit yielding to the workers each, and to all other "officials," a just and

equitable compensation—neither above nor below the average income of farmers and producers in general—if any difference, the rule will be “the harder the work the higher the pay.”—keeping ever in view the great truth that the only object of human effort, according to nature, is subsistence, and that the amount requisite to this is about the same to each human being. The law should solve this one great problem, viz: the equitable distribution of products—which will be reached, when to each shall belong the whole produce of his own labor, to be disposed of according to the will of the producers—and to all shall belong the common benefits of machinery and the common bounties of nature, not to be monopolized by any.

#### XI. CO-OPERATION INEVITABLE.

Machinery, without legislative help, has destroyed the small shops and the small manufactories. The “little weaver” now stands behind a very different kind of loom from that of a century ago. It was then in his own little cottage, surrounded by wife and children, he did his work. Now it is in a vast manufac-

tory, in the midst of hundreds of operatives, he toils for scanty wages, the profits of his labor going to make millionaires, and they not all so philanthropic as was Peter Cooper, nor so patriotic as is Benjamin F. Butler. Machinery will destroy the small farms also. Co-operation has become a necessity. Association is forced upon mankind by the advance of civilization. Let that association be fraternal; and let equality of interests and of rights prevail. This is all I plead for; that all may co-operate, according to the spirit and teachings of the New Testament, as brothers and sisters, as equals in interest—all associations being like the church organized on the day of Pentecost, designed to exalt society to the happy condition of a family circle, in which all exclusiveness shall end, in which every child shall freely eat out of the sugar-bowl, and every member of the great family shall do his or her part to provide the family feast, in which all shall sit at the same table and no little one be obliged to wait. There will be no servants. Each will wait upon himself. The commonwealth of humanity will be a Brook Farm.\*

### ESSAY VII.—THE FREEDOM OF THE MANY.

#### I. BUILDING FOR THE COMMON WELFARE.

The weal or woe of humanity is as dependent upon institution as upon any natural condition. Good government will make a people happy, though they inhabit the most barren and desolate region, as Switzerland and Iceland, for instance. Bad government will render them miserable, though they inhabit the most fertile region, as Ireland and Egypt, for instance. Reform, social and political, consists in bettering the institutions of mankind. Perfected institutions is another name for the Kingdom of God on earth. We have only to break down whatever is established in the interest of caste or class and build for the general welfare to increase immeasurably the sum of human happiness. The “perfect commonwealth” assures to its citizens the Apocalyptic condition of peace and felicity—the “equality” mentioned in the Declaration of American Independence as the common birthright. But is it possible to build this perfect commonwealth? It is possible. Let all exclusive privileges be abrogated, except such as are founded in nature—as the family. The home must be the only “corporate monopoly,” it being instituted by Deity. “Uniformity” will be the law of society. All artificial advantages will be removed. There will be no rich and no poor, no castles and no hovels, but one common level that no man will be so vain as to desire to rise above, except in the development of his God-given fac-

ulties of mind and heart. This is the democracy that is to be—the realization of perfect equality as far as institution can go—equal privileges to all and each, and no special benefits to any—each being confined by institution to a strict observance of the Golden Rule.

He is blind indeed who does not perceive that a peaceful revolution is right at our doors. The new unfolding of mind has brought a new civilization. The dream of the prophets will be realized. The deserts will be reclaimed to cultivation; wars will close; the United States of the World is right now at the threshold, and the starry flag of the Universal Confederation of republics will soon be unfurled. Private interest will soon give way to public welfare. The era of emigration will close soon. Nothing will be left to mankind but the perfection of institutions of government at home and the enforcement of the natural and inalienable rights of humanity.

A race of thinkers is coming upon the stage who will point the way to the realization of the equality anticipated by Jefferson. One evil and wrong after an-

\*The Sermon on the Mount, however foolish it may seem to the standards of the street, is a prophecy of the perfect state, and its principles will yet be the law of the world. Already we hear in many a social movement that selfishness will be fatal to society. A state that allows one man to own a railroad while thousands starve in rags, is doomed to go, and ought to. The political economy of the Golden rule is the only one that will make society safe.—Rev. H. M. Simmons, in “Unity” May 24, 1882.

other will break down and pass away as did chattel slavery. Wage slavery and land monopoly are the next to go. Co-operative industry will become the universal system of labor. Soon will the demand go forth for a revision of our national constitution of government. Then will the toilers do as they did in California—control the convention in the interest of labor. Soon will all the republics of North and South America be confederated together in a sisterhood of States. European republics will grow in number and importance and become the United States of Europe. Then will soon follow the United States of the World, covering the map of both hemispheres completely.

## II. PERFECTING THE IMPERFECT.

The citizens of this cosmopolitan christian commonwealth will be of two classes, the strong and the weak. The strong will bear the burdens of the weak, and the greatest among them will be the servants of the rest. Every movement will be directed toward perfecting the imperfect. The Sermon of Jesus on the Mount will be the Constitution of the New Republic.

1. The Master's blessing will be pronounced on the heads of all little children. The commonwealth will take them in her arms and bless them. The bringing out into beautiful, ripe, mellow and delicious fruitage the infinite possibilities that lie enveloped in the minds and hearts of children will be made the primary aim of all effort of men, as it is of the angels. Yea, it is the sole object according to the purpose of nature, for, which God created the universe of worlds and pronounced His benediction upon them of "very good." Hence the best practical methods of education that experience may sanction will be adopted by mankind, and no child will be allowed to grow up unprepared for the duties of citizenship. Foundlings, orphans and all destitute children and youth, will be gathered into most pleasant homes, where love shall be the only law and kindness the only discipline.

2. And homes of the same character will be provided for the weak and incompetent ones, and for all that are incapable of self-support. These will receive care as from loving sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, neighbors and friends; for every man and woman that God has blessed with health and strength to work will be a Good Samaritan, and they will speak their gracious voice in the laws and crystalize their most benevolent will in beneficent institutions, born of the thought of Him who "spake as never man spake." He "went about doing good," teaching us by His example the true objects of life. He healed the sick; He cleansed the lepers; He cast out the demons; and, dispersing a mob by

an appeal to inherent manly principle, ("He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her"), He said to the woman what we should say in our acts, feelings, and laws, to the frail and fallen: "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more." And here, too, we may learn a better way of controlling and dispersing a mob whose purpose, it may be, to "uphold law and order and punish crime" (as at Jerusalem of old and at Cincinnati of late), than by turning on them Gatling guns and breech-loading rifles in the hands of National Guards.

3. A more beneficent system than the one that shall have in view the casting out the devils of evil, the reclaiming such as go out into forbidden paths—the healing the morally sick, through the all-controlling, all-reformative power of human kindness and pitying love, who can devise? The first aim will be to give pleasant, useful and remunerative employment to each failing one. The inducements held before him to activity and healthful industry will be such that no sane mind can resist them. Each will be enticed from wrong-doing—as were the mob that would have stoned to death the woman taken in adultery—by appeals to the divine manhood and womanhood latent in the hearts of the most ignorant and (so-called) depraved.

The treatment of the criminal, then, will be compulsory only in this: he will be domiciled to one place—held in leading-strings the same as a child. All idea of pains, punishments and solitary imprisonments will be expunged from the laws. The criminal will be brought as a patient into hospital. His malady will be treated to be cured. To cure as well as to prevent disease we must remove its cause. Nature is the healer. Crime is the effect of causes that may be removed. Every soul will gravitate to virtue and flow on in the right course—the course of nature—as water in its channel, when the conditions of society are made what they ought to be.

## III. LEGALIZED WRONG.

Who is to blame for the wrong there is in the world? Society is wholly to blame for it. There is no path of right-doing left open at all by society for men to walk in. The "straight and narrow way," is barricaded and entirely shut up by unjust laws and evil institutions established by society to enable the few idlers to rob and enslave the many workers. Bad laws and barbarous "institutions" have made luxurious Dives possible, and starving Lazarus inevitable. "Business" is licensed theft, as saloon keeping is licensed murder. The monopolist, through licensed extortion, seizes upon the products of the labor of thousands of workers and he thus becomes a millionaire—"wrings from the

hard hands of peasants," by "indirection," the fruits of their sweat and toil in a "legal" way.

A fruitful source of the evils that afflict us is our giving up the control and ownership of public institutions into private hands. There is nothing belonging to a railroad of the nature of private property. The track, the station houses, the cars, the engines, are all for public use. The giving up control and ownership of these into private hands for private profit is the great sin of our age. Also the banks of issue are public institutions and not private. The officials who conduct the business of issuing money ought to receive salary from the government, like other public officials; but they should not be permitted to levy tax uncontrolled on production, and thus pile up immense private fortunes at the public expense. The insurance business, as at present conducted, is a gigantic swindle. Insurance companies are institutions authorized by legal enactment to defraud and despoil the public. These and the kindred monopolies of lands, mines and manufacturing are the chief source of the great evils that afflict our country at the present time.

How much better off is a wage slave than was a chattel slave? And how much better off are the farmers of America "taxed without their consent," by Vanderbilt and Gould, than were our fathers "taxed without their consent" by George Third? How much less barbarous and inhuman is the system of wage slavery, than was that of chattel slavery? And how much less onerous the burdens of the people under the tyranny of kings Vanderbilt and Gould than they would have been under the kings of England? Was it not "law" that made the chattel slave?—and is it not "law" that makes the wage slave? A "fugitive slave law" was enacted for the benefit of the "lords of the lash" who worked the chattel slaves. A detestable "militia law," enlisting for five years and arming with Gatling guns and breech-loading rifles, thousands of mercenary national guards in every state of the Union, to shoot down "strikers," is enacted for the benefit of the "lords of cash," who work the wage slaves.

Our criminal code was invented by feudal tyrants to be a weapon in their hands, through the wielding of which to gain the mastery over their fellowmen to hold them in bondage forever. If a toiler in Scotland, on the estate of "His Grace," the Duke of Argyll, (who is the legal owner of millions of acres of Scotland's soil, just like Jefferson Davis was once the legal owner of hundreds of slaves), or upon the estate of any other duke or lord in Scotland, he should commit so grave an offense against British law as to shoot or snare a rabbit wild in the woods, that "His Grace," or lord-

ship, claims to own by "right of primogeniture"—inheritance from his remote ancestor, who won the title to those lands and rabbits "with his good broadsword," many centuries ago, from the poor Scottish peasants whom he murdered, men, women and children, in their beds, or turned out of doors to starve, burning their houses and grain stacks, and driving off their flocks of sheep and goats and their cows (the same thing that is being re-enacted in Ireland, and on the island of Skye to-day by British "evictors")—the toiler for killing the wild rabbit, contrary to British law, is compelled to pay an enormous fine or be imprisoned for months in a loathsome British jail.

Thus are the people kept under the yoke by "law" in the old world. Our laws are of the same kind and character and have the same aim as have the laws of Great Britain, our parent country, whose common law we inherit. Their aim is to give power to the dwarfs to bind the giants—to the few to fetter the many. And though our national constitution of government was framed to "promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity," yet it has not got outside the boundary of feudal despotism entirely with all of its "amendments." Our criminal code ought to be got rid of as was chattel slavery. It belongs to the dark ages. Its barbarism is out of harmony with our civilization.

The few by means of a false and wicked social system gather together the products of the labor of the many and place those products out of reach of the rightful owners—the producers of them. Penal laws are enacted to "protect the rights of property," that is to say, to enable the thieves to keep possession of the stolen goods. If a tramp from Massachusetts, or from any other state or country, far or near, begs a crust of bread in the state of Connecticut, he may, for this "crime" be imprisoned a year in the penitentiary; and in Iowa the punishment is the same for begging a crust of bread, as for stealing fifteen dollars in money. Thus is "property protected," and humanity *unprotected*, in our *un-christian* land.

#### IV. A SILVER LINING TO THE CLOUD.

But these barbarities belong not to the people—lie not at the door of the masses. They arise because the people have been deprived of a controlling voice in the government. Laws are passed at the dictation of the monopolists who, being controlled by avarice, have no humanity, more than when the great money making industry of the eighteenth century was the slave trade. If it were not for the *voice of the people* the slave trade would be revived with all its horrors. The common people are humane. An illustration of this I met

with last fall. I was introduced to the president of a club in New York—a Hungarian association of poor workmen, organized for the helping of the helpless—a benevolent society. It was not religious in the common acceptation of the term. But it filled a place that the church ought to fill. A fund of hundreds of dollars had been collected, and was held in reserve for the relief of poor and unemployed Hungarians. So, when the common people once control, provision will be universally made for all the poor. Remunerative employment will be provided, so that no hands will rest in enforced idleness—and no one will beg his bread. But step by step the people advance. Soon the ninety-and-nine will make all the laws. The *one* will join the common ranks, and they will count one hundred *equals*. Our penitentiaries will soon become schools of reform. Convicts will be paid wages. They will be gathered into pleasant apartments for several hours each day before blackboards, maps and charts, and instructed by kind, devoted and philanthropic teachers. Good books and periodicals will be furnished them to read. In a little while the walls of all the bastiles of the world will literally crumble and fall to the ground to be rebuilt no more to the end of time. Under the dominion of just and equitable laws and good institutions there will be no more prisons and no more crime. What Isaiah and the Sibyl foresaw, and Virgil and Pope put into beautiful verse, will ere long be literally fulfilled:

"All crime shall cease and ancient feuds shall fail,  
Returning justice lift aloft her scale,  
Peace o'er the world her olive branch extend,  
And white-robed innocence from heaven descend

\* \* \* \* \*

No more shall nation against nation rise,  
And ardent warriors meet with hateful eyes,  
Nor fields with gleaming steel be covered o'er—  
The brazen trumpets kindle war no more.

\* \* \* \* \*

Then palaces shall rise; the joyful son  
Shall finish what his short-lived sire begun --  
Their vines a shelter to their race shall yield  
And the same hand that sowed shall reap the field;  
The swain in barren deserts with surprise  
See lilies spring and sudden verdure rise."

#### V. ASSOCIATION AND FRIENDLINESS.

Association of the workers is the hope of the world. The paramount interest (that of labor) has hitherto never truly associated; but has nearly always stood jealously apart. There have been, in our country, movements in the direction of association. The Grange was one, the Knights of Labor is another. When the labor interest shall combine in fraternal relations universally, it will redeem the world from war, poverty, oppression, illiteracy and woe. The millions, who by the cultivation of the soil, by delving in the mines, and by manipu-

lating machinery, produce the articles of human subsistence and comfort, the hard-handed workers of all nations and races, united as brothers and sisters to mutually protect and help one another, as enjoined upon all christians by the Apostle Paul when he said: "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak,"—will make of this world the happy commonwealth foretold by the divine prophet and sibyl of old, and inaugurate the millennial era—the reign of Jesus Christ on earth.

All that has been done for the world's advancement has been done by the sons and daughters of toil, even the evangelization of the race, for the divine Master (the Carpenter's Son) chose only humble workers—poor fishermen of Galilee—as his trusted apostles. Only humble toilers and the sons of humble toilers have shown themselves capable of doing well his work. It is the Franklins and the Faradays, the Agassizs and the Hugh Millers that have explored the fields of science; the Websters and the Clays, the Jacksons and the Douglasses, the Lincolns and the John Browns, the Greeleys and the Garrisons, that have done his work as leaders of men and teachers; the Shakspears and the Burnes the Bryants and the Whittiers that have worked the deepest mines of thought. None but workers have accomplished anything the world may be proud of. I have the fullest faith in the toilers,—in their wisdom and their prudence, their strength and their perseverance, their fidelity and their patriotism, their devotion and their philanthropy. I believe in the rule of the people—the "common people" who heard Jesus gladly, and the only ones who do still hear Him gladly.

Avarice is the cause of all wrong—the love of money is the root of all evil. All ugly strife ends where all interests are seen to be identical—where the pains of each are sensibly felt by all—where, at the tomb of Lazarus, Jesus (indwelling in each and every heart) sheds the sympathetic tear. Let all toilers, without distinction of race or color, join together the world over in fraternal organization for mutual aid and the protection of the rights of each and all; and all danger will be thus averted of race conflict in our country. There is no natural antipathy of race against race. All tribal and class hatreds are not natural; but artificial. All hate is unnatural; for the author of nature is love. The government of God on earth must be the crystalization of love in institutions and laws universally.

Without a fraternal union of the workers of our country, white and black, how long before a war of races will begin in the south? I have no partisan end in view in what I write; but there is danger ahead if the people of our country do not fraternize—do not learn to love one another—as the true christian

brothers and sisters, that they profess themselves to be, ought. All children must be treated alike by the laws of all the states. There must not be one law for the "whites" and another for the "blacks." The people, without regard to color, must be friendly. That friendship must be genuine. It must be founded in sincere philanthropy—in sincere love of man for his fellow-man. See what a festering sore there is in the heart of the British Empire to-day, which the great Gladstone would fain heal—the hatred engendered by seven hundred years of cruel tyranny. Do we want such hatred to gangrene in the heart of the American Republic? How did the blacks suffer under the yoke of chattel slavery from 1620 to 1863 in our country—two hundred and forty-three years of supreme tyranny and wrong! Have these black people received such kindly treatment, since their emancipation, as to fully join them in adamant links of love and gratitude to their white neighbors and employers in the south—their former masters? A war of races is feared. A war of races we shall have, if love does not take the place of hate in the bosoms of the white people for their black neighbors—their black christian brothers and sisters—followers of the same kind Master—worshippers at the same altar of the Christian's God of love.

In the eight states of the so-called "black belt," where now the two races are nearly numerically equal, statistics show that the blacks increase in number much more rapidly than the whites—as 4 to 3; hence, I have seen it calculated somewhere, that sixty years hence there will be in those states, according to this ratio of increase, two blacks to every white person.

#### VI. CHEAP MONEY AND CO-OPERATION.

The question has been asked the workmen of the United States by a very prominent politician, Mr. Blaine, why the platform of principles of the mighty labor organization, the Knights of Labor, does not declare for "protection," meaning, of course, a high protective tariff on imported goods, that thereby labor may be the more generally employed and better paid? Now, without pretending to speak for the great order, or to argue here the tariff question *pro* or *con*, I will say that a lucid and, I believe, most appropriate answer to this question was long ago anticipated and made, by one who has been ever a devoted and consistent advocate of the rights of labor—I mean the venerable patriot-seer, Wendell Phillips, when he said: "Cheap money will solve the problem of free trade."

This aphorism of the profoundest thinker of modern times, ought to be inscribed upon the American flag in letters of light. It ought to become the watch-

word of all patriots and the guiding star of the Knights of Labor. Protection and free trade fuse in the crucible of *cheap money*, and become one.

Cheap money means a low rate of interest. Let the rate of interest on money be brought down to one per cent per annum—the same rate that the national banks pay the general government for the bonus (gift, not loan) of nearly five hundred million dollars of national bank money, otherwise untaxed by state or nation—each worker paying a one per cent per annum tax on his equal share of the establishment in which he finds employment, he being an equal in interest with every other individual of the co-operative firm, built up and established by a direct loan of government scrip from the national treasury, just exactly as the national banks are built up—the people becoming thus the owners, in fact, of all labor establishments of every kind, as they are of the national bank currency, and the tax of one per cent per annum on the cost of those establishments being a tribute paid by the toilers toward the support of government.

The competition of England in our markets will thus be rendered impossible, as long as she keeps up the barbarous wage system and a high rate of interest on money employed in manufacturing. But when she shall have come round, the same as we, to co-operation and cheap money, we shall no longer need protection against her "pauper labor;" for labor will be the only aristocracy of our mother-land, as of our own, and then, I have no doubt, all that speak the English tongue will be very willing to be one people under the same starry flag—the flag of the United States of the World.

Thus would mankind, coming into a natural system of industry, reach a fraternal union that would put an end forever to war. I call it *natural*, because by nature one has the same interest as another in the employment from which comes the subsistence of both. No more than subsistence can any one naturally claim as his interest personally in anything; for only sufficient to this end can he individually consume,—Jay Gould, for instance, out of his vast nominal ownership of railroads, derives only subsistence,—that is to say, clothing, food, shelter and a bed. All other things (as musical instruments, books, etc., not essential to subsistence) his use of is very narrowly circumscribed and their benefits are diffused. All absolutely, then, that he personally derives (subsistence) must also be the wages of each worker on his roads; hence the interest of each in the road on which he works is the same as Gould's, and his ownership of the road is in fact as real. I therefore conclude, that the unrestrained control by one person of what is essential to the subsistence of another person,

is a wrong, when it enables the one to enslave the other; and the right of each to a fair opportunity to earn a living by honest toil, is certainly a natural, and divine right that ought, I think, to be enforced by state and national laws, instituting co-operative industry universally—the opportunities to each and all being thus, as far as possible, made equal, so that each one by the same exertion may acquire no more and no less than another, except as affected by the barrenness or the fruitfulness of nature—all artificial limitations and stimulations being removed, putting an end to poverty, and placing a competence within the reach of each and all.

### VII. THREE SYSTEMS OF LABOR.

There are three systems of labor besides peonage and serfdom: (1) chattel slavery, (2) wage slavery, and (3) co-operative industry. Chattel slavery belongs to society in a chronic state of war. The chattel slave is legally a prisoner of war coerced into servitude by violence. Wage slavery belongs to society in a chronic state of semi-war. The wage slave is coerced into accepting the price placed upon his labor by his employers through his physical necessities and by barbarous legislative enactments, backed by military force. Co-operative industry belongs to society in a happy state of christian civilization, just laws and perfected institutions. Here the employers and the employed are one and the same persons. Hence the true and prospective system of industrial organization is co-operation. Every kind of industry should be co-operative, the workers thus securing to themselves all the results and profits of their labor. Whatever is produced by the hand of industry will belong to those by whose skill and industry it is produced.

Capitalists will not figure as a factor in this new system that will, I trust, shortly be adopted by all workers in all civilized countries. The commonwealth will own all the factories, ships, steamboats, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, productive lands, mines, and whatever else gives employment to human skill and industry. Private capital will cease to employ labor. Private ownership of productive property and all private corporations and private institutions of every kind, organized for private profit to be gained off the labor of others, will be done away.

I have already imperfectly indicated how this may be brought about; but the idea will bear enlarging upon more fully. This I proceed now to do.

### VIII. HOW TO ESTABLISH CO-OPERATION.

The present is the parent of the future. The evolution (not revolution) is now nearly accomplished. The hundreds of millions of dollars of money known as

national bank currency, placed in the hands of individual bankers by the national government, is a perpetual loan or gift never to be repaid to the government as long as the world stands, unless the government refuse to re-charter the banks, which would indeed be an end and abrogation of the system. Here, then, is the germ-idea embodied already in law that must develop into universal co-operation. If the government of our country may place nearly five hundred million dollars of money in the hands of private bankers to be manipulated by them for their private profit forever, it may place five hundred times five hundred million dollars of *money value* in the hands of individual toilers to be manipulated by them for their private profit forever.

Here I might lay down my pen, having built the ground work of the superstructure, and leave the thoughtful reader to complete the lofty building by following up the line of reflection already suggested. He would first discover that the government owns the bank currency that is afloat. Why may not the government (he will ask) take one long and needful step forward—exchange this currency for productive factories, lands and mines and give those factories, lands and mines into the control of the toilers just as it has given the *quasi* legal-tender bank currency into the control of the bankers, and on the same terms exactly, that is to say, by the payment to the government by the toilers of one per cent annual tax on the cost to the government of the productive property entrusted to the workers? If the government has the right to give the control of the money into the hands of the bankers, it has just the same right to give the control of the property the money will buy into the hands of the toilers. No objection can be thought of that does not apply to the first the same as to the last—to the bankers using the money as well as to the toilers using the productive property (factories, lands, mines, etc.) the money will buy.

He would discover, secondly, that the factory, land and mine are better security to the government, for the money invested, than is a bond; for the bond eats and devours the substance and life of the commonwealth in the shape of interest, just like an eating cancer eats and devours the life of a man. Not so with factories, lands and mines. These are property and wealth; the bond, debt. It is the hard-handed toilers that secure and make sure the payment of the bonds themselves. Labor is the only source of wealth and the only security the nation can have for anything. Without labor's endorsement the bonds are worthless. They must be paid off finally in the fruits of toil, the products of labor. The laborers do all that is done, then, for the nation's prosperity, secur-

ity and protection—furnishing everything of value that it possesses, and dying in the last ditch for the flag.

Whatever benefits government can possibly bestow ought to be bestowed freely upon the laborers. Only for the *protection of the laborers* ought laws to be made. Only to develop the industries and resources of a nation, preserve the peace, educate the youth, and care for the helpless and dependent, should government exist. Its proper end has been perverted where monopolies prevail—where the few have secured possession and control of the natural resources—lands and mines, and of the artificial resources—money and tools; for these should be alike free to every human being. The first aim of government and law, therefore, should be to assure to all the free use of the essential elements of production—lands and mines—tools and money,—as well as the equal privilege of procuring the wild game, fowls and fishes. “Equal advantages to all and special privileges to none,” should be the one sole aim of social organization. That is the object for which the independence of America was won by eight years of bloody sacrifice and terrible sufferings of our fathers—the end for which the American republics were created. Until that end shall have been completely realized the conflict between plebian and patrician will continue, as when the Gracchi gave up their lives—as when Hampden fell—as when Jasper received his death wound—as when John Brown was hung.

Already governments are advancing toward the system of common ownership of railroads and telegraphs. If the government may put money in railroads and telegraphs for the common good, it may put money in factories, lands and mines, for the common good as well. While Europe organizes armies and builds navies at a cost to the public of billions of dollars, let America, at still the much less cost required, organize co-operative industry. Millions of dollars of money subsidies, and millions multiplied by other millions of acres of the rich public lands, once by a national law set apart to the people for homesteads, have been donated by our legislators to corporate monopoly, under the pretext of “aiding public improvements.” What more needed “public improvement” can be thought of than the inauguration of co-operative industry? This done here it will destroy the old, selfish wage system of labor in the old world and lead civilized man up to freedom. But how exactly may it be done?

#### IX. A MORE DEFINITE PLAN.

To be still more definite, suppose that two hundred factory workers, men and women of Des Moines, Iowa, desire to

establish in that city a co-operative woolen factory in which each worker shall possess like interest. Let the government say to them, form yourselves into an association to be denominated the Co-operative Union of Des Moines. The government of the United States will furnish to this Union printed bills, exactly in every respect like national bank money, and have printed on each bill the same words that appear on national bank notes, as follows:

“This note is receivable at par in all parts of the United States in payment of all taxes, excises and all other dues to the United States, except duties on imports, and also for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States, except interest on public debt.”

And the following words also, the government, may, by constitutional right, place upon the bills—words that do not appear on national bank money:

“This bill is secured by all the products of labor in the United States, it being a legal-tender at par in payment for any and all of those products in all parts of the United States.”

This money must always be in demand, as long as there exists, at home or abroad, a demand for the labor products of our country; and the demand for those products can cease only when mankind have all the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life that they can, in any manner, make use of. Then there will be no use farther for money of any kind or description, and gold and silver, as well as paper money, will be useless, as were the coins in the possession of Robinson Crusoe, on his lonely island, where there was nothing he could expend money for.

Let two hundred thousand dollars of this money be issued to the workers of the said Union of Des Moines, and devoted to the following ends, under the direction of a government agent, appointed by the chief of the national or state bureau of labor at Washington or Des Moines, to oversee the work of building and setting in operation co-operative factories, mines, etc. One hundred thousand dollars to build the factory and purchase machinery, fifty thousand dollars to buy the raw material to begin work with, and fifty thousand dollars to build houses for the workers to dwell in. Each worker to share equally the profits of the institution and to bear equally the burden of national tax (only ten dollars to each member of the Union per annum) and to contribute equally of individual labor.

A better way still, I think, would be for the government to build, through the aid and instrumentality of her own legal-tender, “lawful money,” the factories in localities most convenient, and rent them directly to the Unions to be run in the way above indicated for the

equal benefit of each and the common good of all. The first plan, however, results logically from the laws already on the statute books of the general government, and meets all "legal" objections and cavils of the enemy of progress.

#### X. THE UNIFICATION OF LABOR AND THE TOLERATION OF BELIEFS.

Trades Unions will, ere long, be universally incorporated by law, and state and national bureaus of labor universally instituted.

The people, through the agency of congress, state legislatures and national and state bureaus of labor and Trades Unions will organize labor and bring it to a perfect co-operative system, as complete as human wisdom can devise.

The chief organizers of labor will be the heads of the bureaus of labor, (1) of the nation and (2) of the state, operating through the unions. The chief of the national bureau of labor will be a more important officer than is the president of the United States. But the intention of the founders of our government was that the President of the Union should be the tribune of the people of the Union, but alas! he is too frequently the willing underling of bank syndicates who control his nomination by the influence of bank stockholders who secure seats as delegates in the national conventions. And the head of the labor bureau of each State will be a more important officer than is the Governor of the State; but it was the intention of the founders of our government that the Governor of the State should be the tribune of the people of the state; but alas! he is too often the willing underling of railroad and insurance corporations, who control his nomination by the influence of their paid attorneys, who secure seats as delegates in the state conventions.

I shall ever continue to urge upon the workers that the first measure to be immediately perfected for the preservation of popular liberty is *union*—the object mutual *protection and education of the masses*. The workers cannot win their freedom by the ballot (the only way it can be won) before they know specifically the ends to be accomplished, and the reforms to be demanded. The word that best expresses the creed that all workers may unite upon is "Anti-monopoly." Let anti-monopoly clubs be everywhere organized, and let the workers go to thinking and reading, writing and speaking. Let these clubs be places of freedom. Let exclusiveness be banished from them. Let every earnest man and earnest woman be admitted, of whatever race, color or creed, and let his or her voice be attentively heard, and the ideas of each be fairly considered and carefully weighed. Let *truth* be sought for, and that dispassionately. Let madness be

kept out. Let no undue prejudice control the minds of the workers. When men are mad, or prejudiced, they cannot reason. Whoever appeals to prejudice or passion may be set down a Le Caron. He is no safe counsellor who advises violence.

The greatest hinderance to co-operative effort is the belief that all men are dishonest in their motives who do not see things just as we see them, and act just as we act. If one does not walk exactly in the path that we think the right path, why he is "bought up." Everybody, not of our party, is "corrupt." The motives of everyone who may go actively to work in any cause are impugned by some persons. "He does this," they say, "for office," or "he has been hired to do it." If I am a Republican, I think all Democrats "disloyal," if a Democrat, all Republicans are "boodlers." If I am a Labor Party man, all that belong to the "old parties" are "rotten." Nobody is honest but those of my faction. Really I am about the only honest person there is left—like the old Scotch lady who said, "I and my husband John are all that hold the true religion; and, really, I have grave doubts of John's orthodoxy."

There are many dishonest people in the world, it is true; but, as a rule, all men may be considered sincere and honest. We must have confidence in our fellowmen. We must believe in the divinity of man, rather than that all men are devils.

The line of the Ohio poet, Brannon, "all men are better than they seem," may be adopted as a safe rule by which to judge our fellowmen. We should consider no man dishonest before he has been convicted by irrefragable proof of dishonesty—and then we should have charity. I suppose that even Benedict Arnold had an explanation of his conduct that gave some plausible justification to his friends, of his treason.

So the enemies of American progress are sincere and honest in their opinions, no doubt. They do the best they know. They act according to their beliefs. The Tories in the English House of Commons, voting coercion for Ireland, act honestly for what they believe to be right, just and patriotic, I presume, though it is very hard for us to think so. It is with them like it is with the hunter killing the harmless deer. The hunter does not see his action in the same light the deer sees it. He has no compassion for the poor dumb creature, that has as valid a right to "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" as the hunter himself has. The wolf does not consider that the lamb has any rights.

George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were slave-owners. They were not consciously bad men, I am willing to admit.

Men honestly differ in opinion and ac-

tion, let us always concede. Our interests color our opinions—shape our actions, as a general rule—unconsciously, we must believe. Few men do as Howard did, or as it is reported the great Ruskin has done—"sell all and give to the poor"—therefore few are "perfect," but most men act as conscientiously, I dare believe, as did John Howard and as does John Ruskin, but they are not so endowed with the "wisdom from on high." Truly man must be "born again" to be a true christian; and "scarcely can a rich man enter into the kingdom of God." But we must remember the trinity of virtues, "faith, hope and love," and we must not forget that the "greatest of these is love." We must exercise infinite charity, remembering that our warfare is against institutions, and not against individuals. It is for the good of humanity we labor, and we would wrong no man. And especially should we respect every man's good name.

The only hope for the perpetuity of free government in the United States, and the preservation of the Constitution of 1789 (if it still exists *de facto*), rests upon the possibility of the many to combine in one vast Union and speak with one voice through the ballot-box.

#### XI. CO-OPERATION OUR ELDORADO.

But the one great reform that we must work in season and out of season, by day and by night, to establish, is co-operation. We must insist that co-operative manufactories shall be built up precisely as the national banks have been built up, that is to say, by the government. The national banks are co-operative institutions after which all co-operative labor associations may be modeled. I rest here my argument for the constitutionality of co-operative associations of workmen deriving from the national treasury money gratuities (as the national banking associations have done) for establishing factories and workshops, for securing possession of mineral, coal and agriculture lands—for digging irrigating canals, boring artesian wells, sinking coal shafts, building ships, steamboats, railroads, telegraphs—giving remunerative employment to the workers, assuring to all the proceeds of their industry—the entire fruits of their manly toil—thus putting a final period to the enslavement of labor, and bringing about the practical equality of all men. The authors of the national banking law "built better than they knew." That law is our *Magna Charta* of co-operation.

#### XII. JACOB AND ESAU.

The money that has built up the national banking institutions and even the massive blocks of buildings in which the trust and loan companies have their

headquarters in all American cities—the most costly blocks of buildings—and the money that those syndicates loan to the people, is absolutely a free gift from the government to the money-lenders. That same gratuitously-bestowed money has built also myriads of "flats," developed abnormally the growth of cities, and retarded proportionally the development of the country by plastering iron-clad mortgages on a large percentage of the farms—mortgages that can never be lifted by the farmers from their lands; because the power of bankrupting the producers has been bestowed upon the usurers, in giving them control of the money-circulation of the nation—they being able to make money scarce or plentiful when it is to their interest to do so. The many have been impoverished and the few enriched by legislative enactments, creating the bond, the railroad, the insurance and the banking monopolies, and granting to private corporations land and money subsidies. The government of the United States has ever been "paternal;" but it has helped only the few favorites of its household, and left the many to starve. Its great patrimony has been bestowed on Jacob alone. It meant to bless Esau, it may be, but Jacob has secured it all—how? by trickery. Open your eyes wide, O reader, and behold how fruitful Nature yields her stores directly to the many. These stores have been taken from them and gratuitously bestowed by our government upon the soft-handed few. If it were not for a wicked system of cunningly contrived law that has come down to us as an inheritance of evil from the old world, and from an age of tyranny and barbarity, the few could not acquire the surplus wealth.\* What is it that gives the produce of the fruitful farms of Ireland into the hands of alien landlords? Coercive laws. What turns over the rich products of our lands to the Goulds, to the insurance corporations, trust and loan companies, etc? Iniquitous statutes. Does nature require and compel the agriculturists thus to part with the great bulk of the fruits of their toil? No. All is conventional—all is the result of unjust legal enactments. The

\*No man could get perceptibly richer than his neighbor unless some law helped him. A favorable law to a bank, broker, merchant or manufacturer, is what a pistol is to a highwayman, or a dark-lantern and jimmy to a burglar. It is something which gives him advantage over his neighbor, by which he can rob him. Men get rich because land and money are monopolized. This enables them to rob their neighbors and call it taking rent, interest or profits. Abolish land titles and take your legal restrictions off money, and I care not how shrewd or able a man is he cannot get rich above his neighbors. No man can get rich above his neighbors in a morally honest manner. When all men work for wages and can get no rent, no interest and no profits, some men will be better off than others, though not much, but no man need be poor.—From a sermon by Rev. HUGH O. PENTECOST.

balances are adjusted by law to favor capital. The just equilibrium is destroyed by bad government. How much might be saved to the farmers by the equitable laws they are laboring through grange and alliance, to secure for their protection.

Without coercive laws, wage slavery could not exist in any part of the world any more than chattel slavery could have existed in the Southern States of the Union, without coercive laws. Why? Because, the system being unjust and unnatural, the stalwart workers would insist upon an equitable division of profits, and they would enforce peacefully their righteous demands, if not restrained from doing so by legal coercion. Strikes are only the necessary and justifiable efforts of the wealth producers, under present conditions, to retain an equitable share of the wealth they themselves have produced. But the national guard has been organized to defeat these efforts of the workers for self-protection—to keep the yoke fastened forever upon the necks of the wealth-producers.

### XIII "AN OUTRAGE UPON THE PEOPLE."

The permanent stoppage of all wage production and of all transportation and commerce on account of strikes, would be but the collapse of a false system—its death. A fair balance of interests so that both employers and employed are satisfied, is all that should keep alive for a day wage industry. The mutual interests of the parties directly concerned should settle all disputes without coercive laws and violent proceedings by the authorities to compel the wage slaves to go to work. If unbearable exactions and extortions by robbers cause "strikes" among the robbed, interfering with commerce and producing famine of fuel or bread, and other like effects highly injurious to public interests, what should be done? Must our government join hands with the masters against the slaves (as it is doing now) and coerce these into obedience, as the European governments have always done? Do the coercive laws of the Tory parliament of England enforce justice in Ireland? I declare, no. "Law in Ireland," (in the words of Mr. Gladstone), "is an outrage on the people." Neither do the laws of this country, in relation to labor and production, enforce justice here. They are an outrage on the tolling millions of America.

### XIV. THE "SINGLE TAX."

I quote Mr. George: "The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor."

How is this possible? Does not labor pay all taxes, whether direct or indirect? Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore, no tax should be levied on the products of labor."

Is not all tax the appropriation of a portion of labor's products to the common use? The theory is, it is voluntarily bestowed by the producers. Taxes are never paid by any except by those who labor. Those who do no work, whether poor or rich, pay no taxes. It is only toilers that pay taxes. Whether levied on the Vanderbilts or on the farmers, the toilers pay it. The only question is, how may the taxes be equitably distributed so that each son or daughter of toil may give only his or her equal share, and how may the idlers be put to work and made to contribute their proper share of the products of their own toil; for no one has any right to the products of another's toil, nor can he say how the products of another's toil shall be distributed. Let each dispose of his own.

"The single tax is taking what would otherwise go to the owner, as owner and not as user."

This I say is right. But why not confiscate "interest" as well as "rent?" Why a "single tax?" Usury is eating the world up. Why not the national government become the only lender of money? It now lends to national bankers millions without interest, and hundreds of millions at one per cent per annum. Why not turn into the national treasury a portion of the "interest" that is being paid national bankers and other money lenders by the producers, and leave the balance with the producers to help them?

It seems to me that "interest" ought to be confiscated as well as "rent." If not, why not?

### XV. FENCING OUT OLD MAMMON.

Our fathers have said that "all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To preserve these rights, governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Out of this doctrine of equality will be evolved the perfect commonwealth. Then will be given to each by law and institution, by equitable, social relations and conditions, the same glorious surroundings, and the same sweet encouragement. The same bow of promise will appear in the sky of each, and then each will give the same hearty cheers, will march to the same animating music, and keep step in the same grand army of happiness, usefulness and activity from youth to old age, from the cradle to the grave.

Let us fence out old Mammon, insuring to each person by law an equal share of God-given manna, preserving to each to be controlled, used and bestowed by him as he sees fit, the fruits of his own manly toil, taking not from him his equal right to the land, to the water, to

the fishes that swim in the seas, lakes and rivers, to the wild fowl that fly in the air, and to the wild beasts that graze in nature's forests and on her plains and mountains—allowing not to one a privilege that is not allowed to all others—tying no man's hands, destroying monopoly, and following along the straight and narrow path of righteousness, then all men will be as happy as children, and idleness, want, suffering

and crime will bid adieu to earth and life will be worth living.

But the workingmen will bid wars cease, and they will make of this earth an Eden. They are gods, and their voice must control, destroying, "thrones and dominions, principalities and powers," and inaugurating the new era of universal democracy and establishing the grander Union—the Confederation of Republican Nations—the UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

## A HYMN OF FREEDOM.

(IOWA—PART THIRD.)

A MORNING'S MEDITATION ON THE BANKS OF THE DES MOINES.

*"Still true to reason be my plan."*—AKENSIDE.

PREFATORY—(Addressed to my good and true friend, HON. JAMES S. CLARKSON, to whom is due my life-long gratitude.)

To you, O Patriot, I write—  
For life is short, and high my aims,  
And Time will not retrace his flight,  
And I must do what duty names—  
My country lays on me her claims  
To end my task before 'tis night,  
Before the patriotic flames  
Are quenched that beam upon my sight.

It has been given me to strive  
In noble battle for the truth,  
That Liberty may still survive  
And animate the hearts of youth  
Till Time shall gnaw with baleful tooth  
The bones of such as now contrive  
To weave the spider's web uncouth  
And snare the hopes of all alive.

O let your friendship beam on me!  
Dispel the clouds above my way!  
You will rejoice ere long to see  
The zeal for Right I shall display,  
What dreadful giants I shall slay,  
How many fettered I shall free—  
The voice of Truth I will obey.  
And stab the heart of Tyranny.

I'll fell the Upas tree of woe  
That flings its shade o'er every town—  
More dreadful than the fiend below,  
It strikes the loving father down,  
Poisons the magnate and the clown—  
The Devil, wandering to and fro,  
(He of unenviable renown)  
Is not so much of man the foe.

I'll bless all that are under ban,  
The prisoner in his lonely cell—  
To serve the humblest is my plan,  
On Zion's walls a sentinel  
To guard the sacred citadel,  
And of Reform keep in the van,  
Invade the domain e'en of Hell  
To save from woe my fellow man.

To all alike shall manna fall,  
And I shall climb the gleaming heights,  
And look from Pisgah's mountain wall  
Upon the loveliest of all sights,  
The promise of serene delights,  
Bringing equality to all—  
Yea, equal privilege, equal rights—  
And these shall woman disenthral.

June, 1884.

## THE PRELUDE.

At forty-four with heart as young  
As when a beardless boy I sung —  
At forty-four with hope the same  
And love of honorable fame—  
The same unconquered mind and free,  
But chastened by Adversity,—  
Oh may the path that I have trod  
Be halled the narrow way to God!  
At forty-four I strike anew  
The harp laid down at twenty-two,—  
Awake the patriotic strain  
To rise into a grand refrain  
Resounding over land and main—  
A HYMN OF FREEDOM bold and strong  
The bane of Tyranny and Wrong!

## SELF-ABNEGATION.

Thy waves, Des Moines, thou happy stream  
Emblem of life, of virtue seem,  
Gliding onward day and night.  
Limpid, joyous, pure and bright.  
The Prince of Evil from below  
Cannot retard the onward flow  
Of God's great wave that has set in,  
Submerging continents of sin.  
The race of kings, like Pharaoh's host,  
Beneath that tidal-wave is lost,  
And grasping Greed and Avarice drown,  
And War and Poverty go down,  
But Love, Equality and Peace  
Shall bless for aye the human race.  
True Christianity restored,  
Mammon no longer is adored;  
All one common brotherhood,  
The good of all the greatest good.  
Self-abnegation is the heaven  
To metamorphose Hell to Heaven,  
Transform this world of selfishness  
Into a Paradise of bliss—  
A Christian community—  
Declaim against it, Pharisee!  
'Twas Selfishness deprived of life  
Both Ananias and his wife;  
It is the same to-day as then  
(I speak as unto Christian men)  
'Tis Selfishness keeps back a part;  
Why, why conceive it in thy heart  
To lie unto the Holy Ghost?  
Thus life, O selfish soul, is lost!  
No life has he who lives for self;  
No life has he who worships Self;  
Immortal life is his who dies  
For other's good a sacrifice.  
While duty is a sacred word,  
While to dishonor death's preferred,  
While country, home and flag are dear,  
While dims an eye the patriot's tear,  
Thou'lt be remembered, Kinsman,\*  
Of Iowa's twenty thousand braves  
That rest in honored patriots' graves,  
None had a larger heart than thine;  
While Iowa's glorious sun shall shine,  
Thou'lt be remembered, Kinsman!  
And oh, I see the time quite near,  
When Selfishness shall disappear!  
When each shall live and act as though  
He were unto himself a foe —  
So great his philanthropic zeal,  
So wedded to the common weal,—  
As Kinsman gave his life, his all,  
Responsive to his country's call,  
So ever has Divinity  
Incarnate in Humanity,  
Mid scenes of suffering and sin,  
Displayed its heavenly origin.  
The "better nature" will control,  
In time at hand, the human soul.  
The lion with the lamb shall dwell;  
As old time prophecies foretell.

## THE DARK HOUR.

The darkest hour, so sages say,  
Is just before the dawn of day;

Before the Negro's shackles fell,  
Gross darkness and the rebel yell!  
Now intense darkness shades our eyes  
Veiling the planetary skies—  
The few grow rich, the many poor,  
And tramps are dogged from every door;  
The millionaire would have his word  
And e'en his very whisper heard,  
And Congress bow before his nod,  
And Presidents cry "Gould is God!"  
It cannot last; it must not stand;  
No autocrat shall rule this land;—  
He would as well attempt to force  
The Mississippi from her course  
The Freedom, that the Fathers sought,  
Is pillowed on the common thought,  
And rests secure, as Warren's fame  
And Washington's immortal name;  
The world will not have long to wait—  
Hear Iowa greet a sister State:

## IOWA TO CALIFORNIA—AN ODE OF 1878.

O'er sovereign States  
The slimy things—  
Huge railroad rings  
And syndicates—  
Reign cruel kings.  
Hail, California!

Toilers, dethrone  
Those throns of Greed!  
It is decreed  
That ye alone  
Are kings indeed.  
Hail, California!

O'er work, well done  
Rejoice, O State;  
Exult elate—  
Swing glad upon  
Thy golden gate!  
Hail, California!

They spurn the yoke  
Who plow and plod;  
They give the nod—  
Thy people spoke  
The voice of God!  
Hail, California!

Now cheer on cheer!  
Green, green's thy tree  
Of Liberty.  
And God is near  
To aid the free!  
Hail, California!

## THE DAY STAR.

Not long will blindness hide from view  
The rights of all and shield the few;  
Not long the people now betrayed!  
Will bide the bonded debt unpaid,  
While billions, from the toilers wrung,  
Are to the ravenous usurers flung.  
What agent moves with mightier force  
Than lightning in its downward course?  
Almighty thought divinely wrought,  
Invincible, immortal thought!  
The subtlest agent God has given:  
The grain of mustard seed, the leaven,  
The Kingdom of the Christ from Heaven.  
Say what you will, talk as you may,  
We see the dawning of the day,  
The day that sets all labor free,  
Establishing Equality.  
And labor now lifts up her head  
As if awakened from the dead,  
And her edict has gone forth  
Over all the mundane earth:

## THE EDICT OF LABOR.

Let the laws no longer say,  
"You must work and he may play."  
What my own hard hands produce  
Shall be sacred to my use;  
The sweat of thine own face (as said  
In Holy Writ) shall give thee bread,  
But the helpless must be fed;  
The aged and the little ones  
Asking for bread must not get stones;  
Ah, never call it "charity,"

\*Wm. H. Kinsman, colonel of the 23d Iowa Volunteer Infantry, was mortally wounded in the charge at Black River bridge, Miss., May 17, and died May 18, 1863.

The bread that is theirs rightfully—  
Rightfully 'tis theirs to live;  
Rightfully 'tis ours to give  
Millions to support the poor—  
Not a cent for tribute more—  
Tribute to Monopoly  
And accursed Usury.  
All the bounteous gifts bestowed  
By the gracious hand of God,  
Gifts, like water, land and air,  
All mankind may equal share;  
That which Toil does not create  
Is to all men consecrate,  
No one may monopolize  
The manna given from the skies;  
All that God in kindness gives  
Belongs to each alike that lives—  
Let the laws no longer say,  
"You must work and he may play."

#### A CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

When Jesus comes, as John portrayed,  
And all his glory is displayed,  
The New Jerusalem foretold  
With gates of jasper, streets of gold  
Descending, and Messiah reigns  
And man eternal bliss attains,  
And all are joined by love supreme  
Beyond the wealth of poet's dream.  
Are joined by links of God-given law  
That to accordance all shall draw,  
So that, as one, humanity  
Will live in perfect unity,  
And isolation be unknown  
And selfishness be dead and gone,  
Then all shall move in orbits grand  
Obedient to God's command,  
As move the planets, and one soul  
(Though many) animate the whole,  
Thus shall we reach the happy station  
Where is complete co-operation.  
But here we may approximate  
The grandeur of the immortal state;  
The Commonwealth may gain a light  
To bring the Promised Land in sight.  
Behold the Pentecostal host  
Receive overjoyed the Holy Ghost—  
Not less enrapturing the view  
Of what the multitude will do;  
For have we not the Christian law  
The Sibyl and Isaiah foresaw,  
The law of love—refreshing fount  
Out gushing from the Holy Mount—  
The words of Jesus! See the same  
Our code in fact as well as name!  
The world for full six thousand years  
Has been immersed in blood and tears,  
Because to Mammon has been given  
The homage due to God of Heaven.  
Vile Avarice! thou hast sufficed  
To bar Humanity from Christ!  
For (as great Milton has well told)  
"Base hirelings have kept the fold,  
And watched the flock to get the fleece;"  
But soon their ravening shall cease.  
See every soul a priest and king  
And never one an underling,  
And all the poor come to his feast.  
The least are great, the greatest least.  
His Kingdom a grand Commonwealth  
Of true equality and health;  
The lame all walk; the blind all see;  
All prisoners from their chains are free.  
Anon the light shall beam on all,  
And modern Babylon shall fall—  
The Babylon of tribal hate  
That curses now both church and state,—  
And love shall conquer. God is love,  
And Love Almighty rules above;  
Twilt free the world;—the human race  
Shall bow to Jesus and embrace;  
The grain of mustard seed bring forth  
A mighty tree to fill the Earth;  
The Woman's little lump of leaven  
Expand and fill both Earth and Heaven,  
And peace prevail on every shore,  
The nations learning war no more.  
We then behold, and not till then,  
The true equality of men;  
We hail the glorious eschaton

And see all nations wheel in line;  
That ensign the resplendent star  
That led the Magi from afar,  
To where the Matron undefiled,  
In lowly stable nursed her child.  
O angel hosts, rejoice and sing!  
O wise men, bring your offering,  
Of gold and frankincense and myrrh,  
To Him the Righteous Law-giver!  
O Master, I do offer thee  
My homage in sincerity;  
No other teacher ever brought,  
As gift to man, diviner thought;  
No other Master's life divine  
Out-shines the glorious life of thine;  
No other Rabbi ever stood  
Embodiment of "doing good."  
Thy lofty purpose was to give  
Mankind example "how to live;"  
Thou livest, they thought supreme (above  
All other thought) all potent love;  
It yet shall bring the world to be  
One people, one fraternity,—  
Not tribal like the Jewish state,  
Not narrow like the sects of hate;  
But comprehensive. See unfurled,  
"UNITED STATES OF ALL THE WORLD!"  
This is the end Isaiah foresaw,  
The ripeness of the Christian law.  
Did not thy followers unite,  
Guided by Pentecostal light,  
Unite, combine, become as one,  
As are the Father and the Son—  
Exemplify by close embrace  
The oneness of the human race?  
O men who claim the Christian name,  
Why put the Son of God to shame,  
Deny the faith?—Read "Acts" and say  
What was the Church of early day—  
Seeing that Church do we not see  
The type of what mankind shall be?

#### UNIFORMITY.

Soon the battle will begin,  
'Gainst the giant powers of sin;—  
See the cause of God succeed!  
Righteousness shall conquer Greed;  
Private wealth will be unknown,  
In the day that hastens on;  
Private capital no more  
Shall enslave the toiling poor;  
All the land will then be tilled  
By the owners of the field;  
Their own hands will plow and sow;  
Their own hands will reap and mow.  
Soon shall perish Tenantry;  
Rent will die with Usury  
Soon each man a home shall have;  
On his own proud acre live.  
Soon of cities (Sin's retreats)  
Grass will grow upon the streets;  
Where now millionaires reside  
There will owls securely hide;  
And the serpent and the toad  
There will find a fit abode.  
No longer will palatial domes  
Look proudly down on humbler homes—  
Every patriot will disdain  
To dwell above the common plane;  
The fundamental law shall be:  
"Love, Peace and Uniformity."  
The greatest—the most truly blest—  
Will be servant of the rest—  
The Godlike man, whose noble mind  
Reaches farthest toward his kind,  
The father of the fatherless,  
The widow's helper in distress.

#### NATURE'S LESSON.

Mark the working of the bee,  
Fittest type of industry,  
How, according to fixed plan,  
(Learn a lesson here, O man!)  
Does she build her waxen cell,  
And she builds the structure well.  
Now is Nature's lesson taught  
In the works the bee has wrought;  
Thus, within the human hive,  
All alike may build and thrive—  
None be rich and none be poor;

All partakers of the store;  
Each his part assigned to do;  
Each to Nature's laws as true—  
Institution will bring forth  
Eden of the fertile earth—  
Justice will be brought about  
When the drones are driven out.

#### THE SUNRISE.

Put your hands together, then;  
Think and act, O workingmen!  
Think what great Lyncurgus did  
For Sparta, in an age of blood;  
Remember, too, our patriot dead,  
And all they bravely did and said;  
The glorious charter that they won—  
The deed drawn up by Jefferson  
Proclaiming man's equality  
A promise of what was to be—  
What was to be, but is not yet,  
A sun to rise and never set  
When man shall find his highest good  
And cease to shed his brother's blood  
And build a state that will eclipse  
The promise of the Apocalypse.  
For what they nobly did and said  
Give honor to the patriot dead.

#### A HYMN TO THE DEAD.

We see the dead; we know them—touch their hands;

While they enfold us in their loving arms—  
Obey their voices; list to their commands;  
It is their fire our freezing bodies warm;  
'Tis theirs all that we have; whatever stands,  
Endures, is valued, benefits or charms,  
The dead bestowed upon us in their lives:  
Lay earth to earth, what is it still survives!

The good that they have done—this, this is ours;  
It stands eternal and will not fall down;  
But name the good they've done—built Babel  
towers?

Acquired on fields of blood the conqueror's  
crown?

Wrenched states from states and added powers  
to powers?

And filled the world with [woe and their re-  
nown?

Not so, not so—a grander work they did,  
More lasting than the firmest Pyramid.

'Tis to the dead we owe all that we have!  
Our institutions and inventions all;  
Without their work none would be living save  
The acorn-eating savages. The wall,  
Betwixt the living and the dead—the grave,  
Hides nothing from us that we would recall;  
The living are afar—the dead are near;—  
The living are unseen; the dead appear.

All that have fallen for their country's sake,  
They stand before us in our glorious laws;  
The saints that graced the scaffold and the stake,  
They live immortal in the people's cause;—  
'Tis only by self-sacrifice we break  
The power of Evil and win God's applause;—  
His workers toil and suffer and expire—  
And they alone are bidden: "Come up higher."

#### BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER.

##### *Patriot.*

At Wilson's Creek, Iowa made  
Herself a name that cannot fade;  
And her undaunted bravery won  
To Union flag Fort Donelson.  
On Shiloh's mournful field she stood,  
Her garments dripping with her blood;  
Her bravest sons in hundreds fall  
By shot and shell and minie-ball;  
At Corinth and Iuka hear  
From Iowa boys, the victor's cheer;  
Port Gibson, Raymond, Champion Hill,  
Black River Bridge, and, grander still,  
Above the clouds with Hooker, caught  
Fore glimpse of glory, as they fought!

##### *Poet.*

But, oh, the fratricidal strife,  
Where brother seeks a brother's life!  
Let, let it not be understood  
That war can ever be a good:—  
It is unmitigated sin,  
Nor are they conquerors who win:  
It is a serpent, crazed in fight,  
That perishes of its own bite;  
Yea, so declares the Sacred Word,  
They perish thus that "take the sword."

##### *Patriot.*

Yet men display on fields of war,  
The qualities that in them are,—  
Exalted bravery, fortitude,  
Self-sacrifice for other's good,—  
And in these qualities we see  
Sure promise of what is to be,  
When love shall rule and man be free.

#### THE PROMISE.

In halls where Peace rejoiced,  
Voiced  
By maids and swains,  
In sweet refrains,  
And golden strains,  
Bombs burst!

In halls,—places of prayer,  
Where,  
Devoutly heard  
Is the Word  
Of the Lord,  
Bombs burst!

Lo! "Wars shall be no more!"  
O'er  
Seas of tears,  
Through countless years  
Faith's star appears!  
Bombs burst!

Now Love and Progress speak,—  
Shriek:—  
"The time is near  
When human ear  
Shall cease to hear  
Bombs burst!"

#### THE GIANT CURSE.

Peace would have smiled in '61,  
Had but the people's will been done;  
Yes, had their voice been fairly heard,  
Rust would have gnawed the hateful sword;  
But demon Madness ruled the hour,  
Begot of Greed and Lust of Power.  
It was the few, of shameless cheek,  
Base robbers of the poor and weak,  
That they might count their chattel slaves,  
Forced millions to untimely graves.  
The Muse of History will write:—  
"The rich man's war, the poor man's fight!"  
Be it proclaimed, and understood,  
War never seeks the common good!  
Her baneful name let men abhor:  
All slavery is a state of war:  
For tyranny's unstained by force:  
Proclaim it, War's the giant curse!  
With soldiery all Europe swarms,—  
Four million sons of toil in arms!  
O sons of toil, unite! unite!  
Throw down your arms! refuse to fight!  
What helpless, and what hopeless things  
Without you, are the race of kings!  
But hark! a song of triumph hear,—  
Its joyful accents ring out clear:  
'Tis Labor voices now a cry  
That mounts exultant to the sky.

#### A SONG OF LABOR.

Labor will triumph, boys—no one can doubt it,  
men;  
We are all brothers, we children of toil:  
We will be slaves no more, loud let us shout it,  
then,  
We are God's freemen, we sons of the soil!

All will be joy and peace:  
Wars and oppressions cease,  
Since we will butcher our brothers no more:  
Now every wound we stanch,  
Hold out the olive branch  
To every toiler upon every shore!

Labor makes all the guns. Labor must handle  
them:

Labor mans all the ships on the high seas:  
Why do we fight for kings? Why do we dandle  
them,

Like mewling babies, upon our rough knees?  
How will the kings and lords  
Manag the guns and swords,

When the hard-handed, the ninety-and-nine,  
All of us break our ranks,  
Bowing the kings our thanks,

Shout back: "We guns, drums and banners  
resign!"

The world a republic, boys! Grandly united, men,  
The millions are guided by love and not hate;  
We dwell in the sunshine of peace, all delighted  
then;

No poor and no rich, and the meek are the  
great!

Brothers, and working men,  
Give us your hand again!  
Now we are happy, and ever shall be:—

On to the Rhine! We say,

"Prune now the vine we may;

We plant and we dwell 'neath our vine and fig  
tree!"

The land is the people's, boys!—Railroad and  
telegraph—

Giant monopoly yields up the ghost!  
See, old king Gold is dead! loudly the toilers  
laugh!

Who now by labor will save up the most?

Dead is King Alcohol,  
Poverty, crime and all;  
No use for gibbets, for jails or police;

Here is fair play, my boys:

Shout it and make a noise:  
Labor triumphant, the world is at peace!

#### MOLOCH AND MAMMON.

But patriots all, be on your guard;  
One kind of devils go out hard,  
And Greed, and Tyranny, and War,  
Among this kind of devils are.  
The framers of our written law  
The danger to our peace foresaw,  
And early made provision strong  
To guard against the threatened wrong—  
Declared in language grandly plain  
That standing armies are our bane;  
They gnaw upon the nation's health;  
They bite and tear the Commonwealth.  
Despite of all our fathers said,  
The serpent raises high his head;  
An army is equipped and paid,  
And "soldiering" becomes a trade.  
"Militia," of our fathers' plan,  
Counts every able-bodied man;  
The people learned the use of arms  
To guard their families and farms,  
For treacherous Indians blind to law,  
Filled peaceful settlements with awe.  
While we've the ballot and the sword,  
Whose word is law? The people's word!  
But why have we arrayed to-day  
A host of soldiers under pay?  
Why do we now so violate  
The Constitution of our State!  
When these have power to overawe  
The people, then the Sword is law!  
The "enemy hath scattered tares,"  
Who for pretention makes long prayers;  
But who is he? The millionaires!  
So ravenous for wealth and power,  
Even "widow's houses they devour."  
These ghouls, let all just men condemn,  
As scorned by Christ of Bethlehem!  
The guilty lay awake all night,  
Quaking with terror and affright;  
Just so these heartless robbers quake,  
Fearing the people may awake  
To right their wrongs and vengeance take;

Therefore, they frame a tyrant law  
To keep the "dangerous class" in awe—  
Framed with a deep and dark design  
For one to rule the ninety-nine.  
The master formerly was "lash,"  
Who would be master now?—King "Cash?"  
This king now speaks and says:—

"My will  
Is that the people shall not drill!  
Place 'Constitution' on the shelf,  
Lest labor—wronged—protect herself;  
A sleek, select 'Praetorian Band,  
Shall be the guardians of the land,  
To put down strikes, and charge and kill  
The starving workingmen, at will;  
Because, 'tis clear, the laboring mass  
Is now become a 'dangerous class,'  
As were the blacks, when old John Brown  
At Harper's Ferry won renown;—  
Had these been armed, 'tis plain, the yoke  
Of slavery at once had broke;  
We must have troops held under pay  
To keep the laboring class at bay."  
Plain words are these—their meaning clear—  
May every freeman hark and hear!  
Above the people, now behold  
A class most insolent and bold;  
See Legislatures, bought and sold!  
The railroad magnate spreads his tent  
Right in our halls of government;  
The banking Syndicate's a god—  
That shakes his locks and gives the nod—  
From Saratoga thunders forth  
His mandates to the mundane earth;—  
The mass asleep; their rights the sport  
Of Congress, President and Court  
So venal as would put to shame  
Even Arnold of unhappy fame!  
Why, why asleep? The cruel strife  
Had almost quenched the nation's life;  
And who can wonder, at its close  
If tired nature sought repose?  
Reaction follows action sure,  
In all we do and all endure;  
Now slimy reptiles noiseless creep  
And bleed the giant in his sleep—  
But hark! Who speaks the warning word?  
Oh be the Patriot's warning heard!  
O giant, raise thy head and shake  
Thy unshorn locks—awake! awake!

#### THE PATRIOT'S WARNING.

Beware, beware  
The millionaire!  
He "all in all," puffed up with pride,  
The Constitution and the laws  
See, see him bound to override;  
Making no pause!

Beware, beware!  
The millionaire  
With tyrant hand struck Freedom down  
In her first home, in her first home!  
She sank and left but the renown  
Of Greece and Rome!

Beware, beware  
The millionaire!  
A deadly foe, a deadly foe  
To thee, O workingman, to thee,  
Will pause not till he overthrow  
Our Liberty!

Beware, beware  
The millionaire!  
Ah, one by one our rights are blown  
Blown to the wind, blown to the wind;  
Philistines fill the Judges' throne,  
And Samson blind!

#### CRUELTY IS TYRANNY.

Four million chattel slaves released,  
Their cry of agony has ceased;  
It was a struggle that the men  
Who saw it would not see again—  
A victory for labor won;  
But still the conflict must go on;  
Eternal vigilance will be  
Ever the price of liberty;  
For freedom is not adamant,

But only a most tender plant  
That must be kept with watchful care  
Lest blight destroy or wintry air.  
Much has been done, much is to do  
Before the promised land we view;  
Every form of cruelty  
Is a form of tyranny;  
End cruelty of every form  
And Tyranny we thus disarm.  
When we have reached the true confine  
Of freedom we hold man divine;  
Then prisons change their rigid rules  
And are converted into schools;  
The gallows (that most foul disgrace  
Of nations and the human race)  
Will pass away, as has the cross,  
And no one ever mourn its loss.  
The aim of human law has been  
To kill the sinner, not the sin;  
He that no sin has ever known  
May at the sinner cast a stone;  
The ninety-nine upon safe ground,  
Seek for the one lost she p till found;  
And when 'tis found gladly restore  
The wanderer to the fold once more.

#### SIN'S ANTIDOTE.

The poison of the soul remove  
By surest antidote—by love;  
'Tis love will melt the hardest heart,  
And force foul demons to depart—  
Lift up the fallen one—re-tore  
Her to an upright walk once more.  
The magic power of love is seen,  
Rejoice, O Mary Magdalene!  
Ten thousand doors now open wide  
To bring thee to the Saviour's side;  
Thousands of thousands seek thy good,  
The universal Sisterhood.  
Mankind a true fraternity,  
Humanity one family,  
Benighted one, abandon thee!  
No never, while still glows the gem  
Of night, the Star of Bethlehem;  
No never, while the Sun divine  
Of Righteousness, our day shall shine;—  
O Son of God and Son of Man!  
No inspiration's higher than  
Thy life! Immortal Energy,  
Invincible as Deity!  
Unfolding lovely leaf and bloom,  
Enshrined in emblematic tomb—  
The leaf of hope, the bloom of love,  
Graft from the Tree of Life above.  
No written message didst thou pen,  
But emphasized one word to men;  
Thy life the emphasis; the word  
(Above the written one preferred)  
The word is "Love," which prophets saw  
Dethrone, (fulfill) the bloody "Law;"  
Now, only the command remains,  
(It all the written law contains,  
Makes every man on earth our brother,)  
The great command, "Love one another!"  
Love brethren only, what reward?  
He loves all men who loves the Lord.  
Bright on the banner of our cause,  
Read, "Love engraven on the laws!"  
The Sermon on the Mount behold,  
In letters brighter far than gold,  
Made, by the people's stern command,  
The "Constitution" of the land.  
It must be written in our laws,  
"No slavery for any cause!"  
See convict slaves farmed out to Craig,  
While their families starve or beg.  
Pay them wages—fair return  
For all they do and all they earn;  
Deprived of liberty—confined—  
They can no longer harm mankind;  
Now let us point them to the road  
That leads to righteousness and God.  
The cause of sin must be assigned  
To wrong ideas in the mind—  
Remove the wrong ideas and Saul  
At once is transformed into Paul;  
But Cruelty cannot remove  
The wrong ideas—only Love!  
A physician for the sick;

Tender nursing for the weak,  
Man never falls so low, that he  
May not arise to dignity—  
An heir of God; joint heir with Christ  
Who for our weal was sacrificed.

#### THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

Where lies the blame for all the crime  
That so disgraces now our time?  
It rests upon society—  
It rests upon community;  
Community owes every child  
An education that will build,  
Into the edifice designed,  
The structure of the heart and mind;  
"As bent the twig the tree's inclined."  
Those slums of poverty and greed  
(The pestilential cities) breed  
Infection in the atmosphere,  
That grows more deadly year by year;  
"Street Arabs" never out of sight;  
Goods-boxes shelter them at night,  
Misfortune's "Children in the Wood,"  
Dying of cold and want of food,  
Oh, gather in the little ones,  
Nor feed them serpents and hard stones!  
See now the Priest pass by in pride;  
The Levite on the other side,—  
Who is the tender-hearted man?  
Who is the good Samaritan?  
Say 'tis the State—the Commonwealth—  
Shall give them food—restore their health;  
Shall fold them in her sheltering arms;  
Her roof protect from angry storms!  
Time hurries by; these little ones  
Grow up to be her stalwart sons;  
Support her when her locks are gray—  
Her love with gratitude repay!

#### THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The Old is dead! Gladly we view  
The rising glory of the New!  
Now when Zone answers Zone  
By telegraph and telephone,  
And the Desert hears the scream  
Of the monster belching steam,  
It is a fact all must perceive—  
Perceiving it all must believe!  
The methods that bore fruit of yore  
Will blossom in this world no more.  
A ukase Progress has decreed,  
From which mankind cannot recede,  
That in an age when Church and State  
Are wide divorced and separate,  
The State must not attempt to shirk,  
But carry on the mighty work  
The Church so graciously began,  
To mitigate the woes of man.  
The "Sisters"—none but thee, good Lord,  
Can give them adequate reward!  
The foundling's and the orphan's shield;  
The soldier's bleeding from the field.

#### NATURAL RIGHTS.

Old means no longer adequate,  
It has devolved upon the State,  
With "Charity" kept out of sight,  
To give the helpless "natural right."  
Man's natural rights! With pointed dart  
Engrave it on the hardest heart,  
And every freeman, too, give ear,  
And he that is the deafest hear:  
If law and justice were the same,  
Then law could have no other aim  
Than to enforce these rights and give  
Their benefits to all that live;  
And when so done, as God designed,  
The State becomes "eyes to the blind,  
Feet to the lame"—the helpless all  
Upon her as a mother call—  
Are by her fondled and caressed,  
As infants nourished at the breast.  
To criminals are given, too,  
The right of reclamation due:  
The State is arbiter of both  
Their mental and their moral growth.

## DASH DOWN THE CUP.

All pains and penalties have failed,  
 Since Jesus to the cross was nailed,  
 Failed signally. The end designed  
 They never reach--the victim's mind;  
 Nor can the point be put too strong,  
 That pains and penalties are wrong.  
 Can we, by freezing, soften wax?  
 Or split the ocean with an axe?  
 Pains, even of the least degree,  
 Proclaim existing Tyranny;  
 And fines are only robbery:  
 A rot before the Court is led  
 And fined--his children cry for bread;  
 The law can break the drunkard's cup,  
 And thus can make him give it up;  
 Destroy the rattlesnake, and then  
 'Twill surely never bite again!  
 What devil, "Christian England, say,  
 Has drugged, with opium, Cathay?  
 Put down the trade! Oh, burning shame!  
 "Out, damned spot!" upon thy name!  
 Pile opium in heaps around,  
 And opium eaters will abound;  
 While alcohol in rivers runs,  
 Columbia mourns her perished sons!  
 O Alcohol! Thou demon fell,

As ever left the court of Hell!  
 May all the Wrath, and Hate, and Scorn,  
 That ever were conceived and born,  
 Be armed against thy hateful life,  
 With sharpened spear and poisoned knife,  
 And may thy cruel heart soon feel  
 The vengeful bite of hungry steel!

## WOMAN'S VOICE.

But woman! When thy voice is heard,  
 The fiend will vanish at a word--  
 It will be heard! At thy command  
 See now the demon quit the land!  
 And e'en the army's guns and noise  
 Are silenced by thy gentle voice:  
 Not in tempest, not in flame,  
 Not in earthquake--but there came  
 To Horeb where Elijah stood  
 "A still small voice"--the voice of God!

## FAREWELL.

But lo! the sun is risen high  
 And shines resplendent in the sky;  
 Thy Poet's blessing with thee dwell,  
 O lovely Stream! and now farewell.  
 MAY, 1881.

## ESSAY VIII.--THE STRONG AND THE WEAK.

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO ALL LOVERS OF TRUTH AND FREEDOM THE  
 WORLD OVER.

(Spoken at Humboldt, Iowa, October 5, 1875.)

"Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ."--GALATIANS, VI-2.

"We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak."--ROMANS, XV-1.

"And all that believed had all things common and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need."--ACTS II-44, 45.

## I. TRUTH AND LOVE.

To be true to truth has been the paramount object and endeavor of my life. I have ever believed that to follow my earnest convictions of truth and duty is the only way of safety, and that outside of this path is the only dangerous course. I have spoken what I believed to be truth, no matter how unpopular the word spoken might be at the time of its utterance. "Take no thought of the morrow, but follow truth and duty," is the precept and example of the Master, the grandeur of whose teachings and life has dawned on me to such a degree of brightness as to fill me with unspeakable wonder. How I rejoice that the name of Jesus is spoken with reverence by so many millions--even by those who are far from fully comprehending the sublime meaning of His words and life. Mankind will reach this comprehension some day. Then will result the complete extinguishment of legalized cruelty; and the complete extinguishment of poverty and oppression. The supremacy of the law of love has been acknowledged by the enlightened of all ages and nations. It was the foremost endeavor of Jesus to

emphasize this law. Wherever the Jewish law appeared to antagonize love he said of it unmistakably, "Nay." It was his purpose to dethrone hate and enthrone love as the controlling power over individuals, communities and nations. It was this idea that so awakened the enthusiasm of the early Christians. This beautiful love--the "fulfilling of the law" of Moses--was not just a cold, metaphysical dogma, but an efficient law of every day life, to the primitive disciples. "Whoso," said they, "hath this world's goods and beholdeth his brother in need and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?" "All that believed," who had walked with the Lord and listened to his gracious words, "were together and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need."

Here do we see the literal interpretation of the meaning of Christian love, as understood and practiced by the immediate followers of Jesus. They gave to it this interpretation as the logical outcome of their religious belief. And precisely the same interpretation must follow universally the Christian belief,

when mankind have become his true disciples, as those unmistakably were who received the baptism of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. Here we see Christianity put into institution, as it will yet be crystalized universally in law and government, placing upon the broad shoulders of the strong the burden of the infirmities of the weak.

## II. PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY.

Except in literature, and as a sentiment in the hearts of the common people, Christianity has very little actual foothold in this yet pagan world. Outside of beneficent institutions that assure the equality of men and the abrogation of want, suffering and cruelty, christianity can only be sentimental—it must be practical to be genuine and real. We may see how nearly the governing powers of church and state (not the people; for the people nowhere fully govern) are christian, by observing how nearly the organized governments of christendom (church and state) are like the christian community instituted over eighteen hundred years ago, in providing for the common welfare. Assuredly the institutions and governments of christendom, both church and state, are pagan and not christian, and they will continue to be so until the common people who "hear gladly" the words of Jesus, absolutely rule in both. To the degree of approximation toward absolute control of governments by the people (men and women) will the governments be christian and not pagan. Where the people have crystalized in government and law their absolute will, christian government exists, and there alone. Such government is as careful of the rights, well-being and happiness of each individual as was the primitive christian society, that had "all things common."

Government of the few over the many is maintained by coercion and robbery. What is the British government to-day but the strong preying upon the weak? following right along the cruel pathway of ancient, pagan Rome. How much better off is Ireland to-day under British rule than was ancient Britain under the Caesars? What is England's treatment of India but barbarism itself?

O England, where is thy boasted Christian civilization? The ninety-and-nine of thy subjects are slaves to the one! If the ninety-and-nine controlled, then would Ireland be emancipated, and India would experience the kindly treatment from England that Japan does from the United States. The United States is not an oppressor. Why? Because the people of America rule to a greater degree than do the people of any other country on earth—and the voice of a christian people is the voice of love—the voice of God.

## III. THE AVARICE OF THE FEW.

All that the world now needs in order to be emancipated from the thrall of pagan hate and selfish cruelty and greed is the overthrow of all arbitrary governments and the inauguration of democratic rule universally. Oppression will then die and the strong will at once (as they ought) "bear the infirmities of the weak," instead of preying upon and devouring the substance of the poor and defenseless.

What is the cause of poverty, tyranny, slavery and the conquest of peaceful and happy nations with the sword of barbarity? The avarice of the few is the cause. Where avarice has gained the mastery over the minds and hearts of the controlling few (and avarice always does hold the mastery where the few control) no appeal to justice or right is heeded. The rulers are always despoilers, robbers and tyrants where the few rule. Avarice is the Satan that must be chained, and to chain him the many must govern and not be the governed. All men and all women must declare their independence of the sordid few. The thoughts and actions of mankind will then flow in the broad channel of "good will toward men." Avarice never controlled the majority of a christian people. In every christian community on earth, where the community speaks, exalted motives alone move to action. The wicked few have reason still to "fear the people."

## IV. CHRISTIAN LOVE.

No scoffer has ever assailed the divine doctrine of christian love. Even Robert G. Ingersoll has never found fault with it. The common people hear Colonel Ingersoll gladly only to the extent of his advocacy of love and good will toward men, women and little children—only to the extent that he echoes, repeats, exemplifies and enforces, in his words and acts, the kindly teachings and example of Jesus, and he does this to a great extent. He would, it seems, delude himself into the belief that he has stepped clean outside of christianity in the direction of good will toward men, which is impossible to do.\* On the contrary, not only all of christianity but "all the law and the prophets" are comprehended in the words "love thy neighbor as thyself."

But in defining his "God," Colonel

\* "One article of our faith then is—that Christ is the first begotten of God, and we have already proved him to be the very Logos, (or Universal Reason), of which mankind are all partakers, and therefore, those who live according to the Logos are Christians, notwithstanding they may pass with you for Atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates and Herakleitos, and the like; and such among the Barbarians were Abraham and Ananias, and Azarias."—JUSTIN THE MARTYR, (who lived within a century of Christ and who was the first Christian writer after Paul, whose works have come down to us).

Ingersoll draws a picture, paints a portrait of a being, by a false personification of beneficent Nature, more heartless, and indifferent to the cry of woe than the annals of pagan literature anywhere show, and compared with which the God of Moses is as the Good Samaritan compared with the Priest and the Levite. Thor and Odin of the Arctic North do not come up to Colonel Ingersoll's "God" in frigidity. And to give more emphasis to the cruel aspect of his "deity," he even places it in the feminine gender,—a terrible Medusa. In his lecture entitled "The Gods," the great Apostle of modern Atheism, says:

"My God is Nature, which, without passion and without intention, forms, transforms and re-transforms forever. She neither weeps nor rejoices. She produces man without purpose and obliterates him without regret. She knows no distinction between the beneficent and the hurtful. Poison and nutrition, pain and joy, life and death, smiles and tears are alike to her."\*

Yet Colonel Ingersoll anathematizes the God of Moses for inhumanity—

"Consistency, thou art a jewel."

"The God of Jesus," says Renan, "is not the hateful master that kills us when he pleases, damns us when he pleases. He is our father. We hear him when we listen to a low voice within which says 'Father.' He is the God of humanity."

Still, in spite of what is said by Colonel Ingersoll himself to the contrary, I must believe and insist that his God is love, as is the God of Paul, and as is the God of every enlightened mind (his not excepted) the world over. The enlightened mind must look on love as *supreme*—and that which the mind holds to be supreme is to that mind essentially God—who is otherwise undefinable. "God is love." This is as far as human language can go in defining deity. I worship the Infinite Love. So does Colonel Ingersoll, and so does every human soul. Reason can rise no higher than to acknowledge love to be supreme. Man can become no better than to live an exemplification of love—as Jesus did and as Colonel Ingersoll is desirous of doing, I dare say.

#### V. THE LIGHT OF MEN.

It is said of the great Jefferson that the distinction which he liked to draw, between the lessons of heathen philosophy and those of Jesus, was "that the former had for their object to teach man to take care of his own happiness, whilst

\*The rainbow in the cloud is the faith that God is not only powerful, but good; that the forces of nature are, on the whole, not cruel, but benignant; that the true state of mankind is not to be at war with each other in the struggle for existence, but joined in offices of mutual helpfulness and development.—REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

the latter turned his thoughts to the happiness of others." "The moral doctrines of Jesus Christ," he adds, "went far beyond those of the philosophers in inculcating universal philanthropy, not only to kindred and friends, neighbors and countrymen, but to all mankind, gathering all into one family under the bonds of love, charity, peace, common wants and common aids." And the Revolutionary patriot and christian philanthropist, Thomas Paine, declares, in his *Age of Reason*: "Nothing that is here said can apply with the most distant disrespect to the real character of Jesus Christ. \* \* \* The morality that he preached and practiced was of the most benevolent kind. It has not been exceeded by any. He preached most excellent morality and the equality of men."\*

\*David Frederick Strauss, in his essay "Ver-gangliches und Bleibendes in Christenthum," says: "He (Jesus) represents in the religious sphere the highest point, beyond whom posterity cannot go—yea, whom it cannot equal—inasmuch as every one who hereafter should climb the same height could only do it with the help of Jesus, who first attained it. As little as humanity will ever be without religion, as little will it be without Christ; for to have religion without Christ would be as absurd as to enjoy poetry without regard to Homer and Shakespeare. He remains the highest model of religion within the reach of our thought, and no perfect piety is possible without his presence in the heart."

John Stuart Mill, in his "Three Essays on Religion," says, "Religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching upon this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity, nor even now would it be easy even for an unbeliever to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract to the concrete than to endeavor so to live that Christ would approve our life."

Here is what Ernest Renan says in his "Life of Jesus": "This sublime person, who each day still presides over the destinies of the world, we may call divine, not in the sense that Jesus absorbed all divinity but in the sense that Jesus is that individual who has caused his species to make the greatest advance toward the divine. In him is condensed all that is good and lofty in our nature. Whatever may be the surprises of the future, Jesus will never be surpassed. His worship will grow young without ceasing; his legend will call forth tears without end; his suffering will melt the noblest heart; and all ages will proclaim that among the sons of men there is none born greater than Jesus. He cannot be long exclusive to those who call themselves disciples. He is the common honor of all who bear a human heart. His glory consists not in being banished from history; we render him truer worship by showing that all history is incomprehensible without him."

Theodore Parker says: "He united in himself the sublimest precepts and divinest practices, and proclaimed a doctrine beautiful as the light, sublime as heaven, and true as God."

Jean Paul Richter says: "He is the purest among the mighty, and the mightiest among the pure."

Goethe calls him "the divine man" and "the holy one."

Thomas Carlyle calls his life a "perfect ideal poem" and his person "the greatest of all heroes."

And here is what Robert G. Ingersoll says of Christ in the *North American Review* of November, 1881: "For the man Christ—for the reformer who loved his fellow men—for the man who believed in an infinite father who would shield the innocent and protect the just; for the

The essential Christian idea is devotion to the welfare of others and forgetfulness of self. The manifest tendency of this idea is toward the fraternal unification of the family of man. The practical political result will be the establishment of the United States of the World. The only question to be answered, that the world may become one loving Christian Family, is how may love be made the superior law of all institutions, including churches, states and nations? To the solution of this one supreme question all the thought and effort of every individual of mankind should be constantly directed. The people will, I maintain, work out this problem the moment they gain the mastery. The people of this world are ready now to undertake the glorious task—are ready now to vote an amendment to the Constitutions of all organized governments, making the sermon of Jesus on the Mount the supreme law of every church, state and nation on the earth, thus abrogating forever sectarian hate, war and barbarity—thus instituting universal equality of rights and privileges for all men, women and children,—gathering all the helpless and destitute into pleasant homes—the commonwealth becoming the father of the fatherless and the widow's protector—the helper of the helpless and the friend of the friendless outcasts.

## VI. GOOD THINGS TO COME.

I do love these grand ideas; and oh, what an epic poem is embodied in the thought of the United States of the World;—all nations confederated together under one starry flag of Christian brotherhood and sisterhood and declaring "the strong shall bear the infirmities of the weak"—be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame!

Yes, I believe it true of Christianity that so far was it in advance of human development at the time of the descent of Jesus upon our planet that for almost nineteen hundred years it has existed as a prophesy or promise of "good things to come," understood by only a few superior minds—mankind generally being unprepared for the apprehension of the astounding idea of a universal Christian community, like that organized by the

primitive Christians of Jerusalem, in which the law of love was paramount.

But mankind have wonderfully advanced since the day that Jesus yielded up his life on Calvary. The "little lump of leaven" has almost done its allotted work. The world is now ready for the Second Coming of the Son of God. The present iron policy of the Disraelis and the Bismarcks of the nations is but a continuance down into this Christian age, of the barbarity of ancient Greece, Rome and Carthage—a barbarity based on ideas long since given up as heathenish by the masses of mankind, and are as far removed from the popular approval as was chattel slavery twenty-five years ago; and their voice that destroyed chattel slavery will wipe out war, conquest, coercion, wage slavery and every other barbarous institution or thing not in harmony with the now well-understood and universally approved principles of Christianity, and will institute co-operative industry, and other reforms, insuring to the workers all the fruits of their labor, until finally shall be realized the Cosmopolitan Community, or Universal Christian Commonwealth which Isaiah and the Roman Sibyl foresaw, and of which the pentecostal community was the epitome.

"Behold all things shall become new!"

Society has outgrown its old garments. I see man coming up step by step from the cave period, when he wielded the rude club and stone implement, to the present age, in which time and space are annihilated, and production has been so increased by machinery that want and suffering need never again be known on earth. There is but one thing more required to complete the emancipation and happiness of mankind and the Christianization of the world, and that is the entire abrogation of autocracy and plutocracy and the institution of democratic governments universally,—guaranteeing the equality of men, as ordained by Jesus and exemplified by the Church of Jerusalem when "all that believed had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men are very man had need." And to this sublime height may all human governments speedily attain, is my prayer of undoubting faith!

## ESSAY IX.—SOCIETY AND CHILDREN.<sup>1</sup>

(Part of a discourse spoken at Humboldt, Iowa, October 3, 1875.)

"And he took the little children up in his arms, put his hands upon them and blessed them."—MARK, x-16.

### I. THE CHRIST SPIRIT.

May we not say truly that the present

martyr who expected to be rescued from the cross; for that great and suffering man, mistaken though he was, I have the highest admiration and respect."

progress of the world is the outgrowth of selfishness—of the struggle for wealth of enterprise? No I think we may not truly say so. But on the contrary, the real good is, I believe, the outgrowth of what is denominated "christian work"

—the missionary spirit—the desire to help humanity—to save men from ignorance, vice, poverty and degradation—out of sympathy and love for our fellow men—the Christ spirit. At present there is individual effort in this direction, of isolated philanthropists, and associated effort of church and lodge. But soon it will be the great work of the state to do this office of charity and love. Even petty life insurance companies will then cease to be, for the state will be the insurer and every individual of the State the insured. The people will act together (through law and institution) in all things for the general good. The state will become a fraternity. Charity will be so organized and carried out that the helpless shall be surrounded with the sunshine of earth life. No little feeble Five Points Mission for destitute children, supported by private charity, will struggle for existence; but healthy establishments, supported by the bounty of the commonwealth, will abound. The state is able to institute model homes for orphan children, more pleasant and attractive than even the homes and firesides of the wealthy of to-day, so that parents may do well to visit there to learn how to make the parental home attractive to their little ones.\*

How can our homes be made most pleasant? By their being built with an eye to one thing only—the gratification of children. Too often the family home is built to gratify vanity to make display of finery—anything but pleasure grounds for children. They are prisons rather.

Most earnest thought and persevering endeavor should be directed both to the comfort and delight of children, and to their education. When mankind go to work in real earnest to make the little children happy the whole year round, what a pleasant world we shall have. Make every day Christmas for all the little ones of earth! If we only took the little children, as the state can do, all the destitute and orphans—took them in our arms and blessed them with happy homes of comfort—laying our hands on their heads as true saviours, oh, would it not be well! The world belongs to the children. We hold it only in trust for the coming generations. Let us give them a blessed portion of it

\*In advocating the common care of the little ones, who are left to battle for existence without parental care, I do not wish to be understood to say that homes in good families would not be preferable to public establishments, like the one at the Five Points, New York, though nothing is more beautiful than was the appearance of the Five Points' Mission Home and School in 1888. I had the pleasure of visiting that home in September of that year, and great was my joy to see so many happy children there assembled and the little ones so tenderly cared for. May the blessing of Almighty God go with those who have undertaken to carry forward this most truly christian work.

while they are helpless and need it. One child has as God-given a right to just as much of this world's goods as another. It has a right to all that is necessary to make it comfortable. Don't you, great, strong man, withhold from the infants their right. God never gave the world to a few. Don't grasp by force more than your share and hold it up out of the reach of the babes. Don't let the children want.

No man owns, in fact, more than he can properly use, though he may control more, while little children are starving around him. We collect together vast sums; we spread our claims of ownership over vast areas of earth's surface; but we really own only what we can eat, drink and wear. Some one else has to use the balance or it must go to waste. Even our bed and the roof that shelters us are ours for a few days only, and the ground then claims our selfish bodies and our bones and flesh rot. How little does each one absolutely own! He draws from a small compass of earth his real subsistence. Man's essential wants are few and easily satisfied. Even Alexander the Great could drink and eat no more than other individual men, and it took no more woolen to clothe him, so that his ownership of more was a delusion. No man is wealthy. The man who has a sufficiency of wholesome food to eat, a comfortable bed to sleep on, a shelter that keeps off the cold and damp, a cheerful fire to sit by in the winter, adequate clothing for his bodily comfort, leisure for mental culture, loving companions and friends, and a wife and happy children around him, is as rich as any mortal can be. But if he is selfish and wrapped up in love of money, God pity him.

### III. THE MILK OF HUMAN KINDNESS.

Mind has so far triumphed over matter that men produce a superabundance of products now without great physical toil. If not to heaping up of superfluous riches for vain show, to what may we devote our attention? To making little children happy. How may this be done? By giving the surplus wealth produced by machinery to them. How may we give it to them? By building pleasant homes for all the destitute and orphans; by establishing schools for them; by gathering them together and nourishing them with the milk of human kindness. There is room enough in this world for billions more of people than dwell now on its surface. Make it good for children to be born. Let this be the aim of all our laws. Let our world be made a most beautiful world to all children. God has indeed made it beautiful, if man by selfishness did not mar it. Let every child that comes into this world feel that he is the peer of king's sons. Never let him be humiliated by

the idea that he is in any way beneath any other child that ever lived. Ought children to answer for the sins of their parents? It is enough to answer for one's own sins. Spare the little child. Lift it up. Make it a prince or princess among men and women.

How beautiful this world might be if selfishness were only banished from it. It would be divided up into small and pretty homesteads for all. What do I want of a thousand acres of land? I might make one use of it—I might compel others to be my servants, to labor for my comfort and ease—to give their toil and the fruits of their toil to me that I may be idle. It is better for me to work a portion of the time. It is better for me to earn my own living. I will have better health if I go into the field and plow a reasonable portion of the time. But I make other men work longer than they ought that I may be idle and spend my time and the hard earnings of other's toil in luxurious living. Thus I become enervated in mind and body. My selfishness overreaches itself.

Wealth is a tremendous power. In the hands of bad men it is a power for evil. As yet there are a great many bad men in the world, and bad men do sometimes get rich. These scruple not to go into the halls of legislation to offer

bribes to representatives of the people.

Wealth in the hands of good men is a power for good. Like Gerrit Smith these hold their lands and money *in trust* for the good of others. They use their means as Jesus would have used wealth had he possessed it. He would have sold all and given it to the deserving poor. "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God"—is a text seldom quoted from the modern pulpit; and the next one is like unto it, viz: "It is easier for a camel to go through the needle's eye than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God."

But a good man never considers himself rich. Self-abnegation is his religion. He may have title deeds to vast areas of the earth's surface; but he says "these lands, and all else that I control are mine only in trust for the good of mankind." He would rejoice to know just how to devote his property that it might confer the highest benefit on his country and countrymen and the world of mankind at large.

The man does the best for himself that yields up the most for the general good. He is the happiest man that adds most to the happiness of others. No man can increase his own personal welfare by sacrificing the welfare of others. He that lives for other's good and dies for other's good is the truly happy man.

## PASTORALS OF THE PRAIRIES.

### PART SECOND.

#### SONNETS TO MY BELOVED WIFE.

##### I.

"Forsake thee not, no never, Jennie, meek;  
Forsake thee not; I love thee more and more,"  
So have I sung through years beyond a score.  
The wild-rose bloom still reddens thy fair cheek,  
Thou art my wealth, beyond what tongue can  
speak,  
Beyond all measure. Millionaires are poor,  
For I'd not yield thy love for all their store,  
My joy with thee for all they own or seek.  
O happy marriage! blissful, blissful atate!  
God is my shepherd, in green pastures lead,  
He gave to me—O gift most fortunate!—  
Gave thee to me: and "ye are one," He said—  
Bestowed on me a glorious estate—  
Not lands or money, but thy love instead.

##### II.

What are they worth (broad lands and stocks  
and gold)  
Compared with happiness we, darling, find  
In our plain cabin—happiness of mind.  
Trusting in God, His goodness we behold,—  
Behold in bread and blessings manifold,—  
And to His providence we are resigned;  
For e'en His harshest chastenings are kind—  
Our minds into the Saviour's likeness mould,  
They bind our souls together closer still,  
And teach us how to prize a God-given friend.  
O dearest friend! they cause us to fulfill  
Our mutual duties till we reach life's end.  
Prosperity does sacred friendship kill;  
Adversity leads kindred souls to blend.

##### III.

O love, my inmost thoughts I give to thee,  
Nor hast thou heard me of my lot complain;

I seek for wealth, the wealth that will remain  
Beyond this life, through vast eternity;  
Despise those things that perishable be,—  
And I shall clasp thee in my arms again  
When we have left behind this world profane;  
Then all I value shall come back to me.  
I have assurance of a future life,—  
I have assurance that the good endures;  
The husband there shall greet his darling wife;  
There shall we meet the friends the grave ob-  
scures;  
A better world succeeds this world of strife—  
Are these hopes vain? not so my faith assures.

##### IV.

In retrospection of the past I see  
How thou hast been my ever-constant friend,  
And all thy ways, my darling, I commend;  
Thy love, how glowing in adversity,  
And how unfailling in prosperity;  
I see its heavenly light through life extend;  
I see it brighter grow until the end—  
Yea, thou art true, dear wife, as Deity.  
Did not thy light and warmth illumine my way,  
Cold, cold despair my soul would petrify;  
But thou revivest my drooping heart each day:  
Let hope decay, and I ripening die—  
All else Adversity hath swept away.  
E'en my good name the wicked vilify.

##### V.

Now let me weigh, compare and truly tell  
What is the choicest of the gifts of God,  
The glory of the earth whereon we plod,  
A gift with which there is none parallel,  
Of happiness it is the citadel;  
Who have this boon are grandly clothed and  
shod;

But 'tis a boon cynics call rare and odd;  
 Connubial love! no joy can it excel.  
 Always pellucid is thy love, O wife,  
 Like limpid waters bubbling from the ground,  
 It elaked my thirst when sweet, joyous young  
 Life

Went dancing through my veins with glad re-  
 bound,  
 But now I drink, faint, wounded from the strife,  
 I quaff thy gushing love with joy profound.

## VI.

It will be known in distant days to come,  
 (For 'tis a deed that merits endless fame,  
 Compared with it the warrior's meed is tame)  
 That thou established, darling, a true home,  
 And like the immortal matron, pride of Rome  
 When Rome was proudest--[Cornelia her name]  
 Thy jewels were thy children. 'Tis thy aim  
 To do the good that's near. Encomium  
 The highest that the world can give, will be  
 That thou hast brought up children to repeat  
 Thy life of righteousness--to follow thee--  
 To keep along the path made by thy feet,  
 Thy blessed feet that carried thee to me  
 To make my earthly happiness complete!

## VII.

Who looks abroad while glow the prairies wild  
 With lilies and a thousand floral stars,  
 Sees beauty as when Paradise unbars  
 Her golden gates to show where und filed  
 Walked Eve before the serpent-fiend beguiled  
 Her trustful into evil that still mars  
 The souls of all mankind with ugly scars  
 Hailed only since was born the wondrous child,  
 And angels sang the choral hymn above,  
 And shepherds listened with supreme delight.--

Thy gentle voice and blameless life, my dove,  
 How beautiful, both to my ear and sight!  
 More ravishing than angel's hymn, O love!  
 More beautiful than prairie-lilies bright.

## VIII.

Now let me clasp thee in one long embrace;  
 I love thee, darling, and we twain are one,  
 Not for a day, but till descends the sun  
 To rise no more upon Creation's face.  
 Till pass from Earth the last of human race,  
 And all the shining orbs their course have run;  
 Then will our raptures have but just begun,  
 Our joys unbounded as the boundless space!  
 Through vast immensity our course we speed;  
 We rise, advance, learn, know, advancing still,  
 Onward and upward nothing to impede--  
 Where Beatrice made Dante's heart to thrill  
 I drink enraptured bright, ambrosial mead--  
 I drink thy love, but never drink my fill.

## IX.

Sweet mother of my children! thou shalt yet  
 Receive bright token of my high regard;  
 O could I sing as sang the Teian bard,  
 Thy worthy name the world could ne'er forget.  
 Shine on bright name! shine on and never set!  
 Glow like the firmament--the million-starred,  
 And great Orion keeping watch and ward  
 Upon Creation's midmost parapet!--  
 These grateful thoughts rejoice, O love, my  
 mind,  
 These glowing words escape unbids my lips.  
 I owe thee millions, helpmeet ever kind,  
 If paid in gold 'twould sink old England's  
 ships;  
 To do the impossible was ne'er designed,  
 Then love for love, nor love let love eclipse.  
 Aug. 28, 1885.

## ESSAY X.--BREAD AND STONES.

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO WILLIAM LARABEE, GOVERNOR OF IOWA.

"If a son shall ask bread of any one of you that is a father will he give him a stone?—or, if he ask a fish, will he, for a fish, give him a serpent?—or, if he ask an egg, will he give him a scorpion?"—MATHEW 7-10.

## I. INDUSTRIAL HOMES.

Iowa has two "Industrial Homes" established by law and supported by the State—one for boys and one for girls. The amount of money appropriated for the support of the girls' Home is two dollars and fifty cents per week for each child admitted. This pittance must pay the following expenses in full: Food and clothing for each child; doctor's bills for each; fuel for four large buildings of many apartments and scores of rooms; the salary of the superintendent—over twenty-one dollars per week—and his traveling expenses, including hotel bills; the salaries of seven teachers, five dollars per week; the salaries of four outdoor workingmen, five dollars per week each, and the board of all these twelve—superintendent, seven teachers and four outdoor work hands. These all eat at a separate table from the children, furnished out of the weekly allowance of two dollars and fifty cents each made to the little ones only. Of course the more costly the viands, superintendent, teachers and work hands load down their table with, the more meager the fare of

the children whose servants, superintendent, teachers and workingmen are meant by the state to be. Is it not enough for the servant to be as great as his lord? If the institution is really a "Home" why do not all eat at the same table? It is not home-like, to say the least, to put the little ones off to one side on corn bread and barley gruel, while the heads of the family eat white bread and roast beef. I am willing to eat the same that my children must needs eat, or other's children who have become part of my family.

The Orphan's Home at Davenport is, I am credibly informed, conducted on the same unhomelike plan. The officers, I insist, of those institutions, ought to sit at the same table with these beautiful children, like true fathers and mothers with their beloved ones. If the food is good enough for the children it is surely good enough for those who literally "eat the children's bread."

To one who was ever sick in an army hospital during the war, it need not be told how the tables of the hearty surgeons, hospital stewards, nurses and cooks groaned under the weight of

dainties and delicacies sent down south to the "dear sick boys" by the Women's Loyal Leagues, Aid Societies and Christian Commissions of the North, while the sick soldiers were regaled on dried apples (usually boiled by wholesale, worms and all, to give them a palatable flavor and nourishing qualities), stale bread and poor coffee. I call public attention to the fact that, the children in our Orphan and Industrial Homes are nourished on the same well-meaning plan the sick soldiers were, when surgeons, stewards, nurses and cooks buttered their bread on both sides, while the sick boys got no butter at all on either side of their bread. If their care is not the primary, but only a secondary end, and self first, then woe to the little ones! Self is usually uppermost in the minds of the appointees of governments. The Iowa Industrial Home for boys is supported on a still smaller allowance per child—it being but two dollars per week for each boy admitted. Superintendent, teachers and other employees, twenty in number, are all paid and fed out of this small allowance to the boys, and the other ordinary expenses of the institution are met out of it too, the same as at the girl's Home. But here military style is put on enormously, I am told, three tables being set and furnished, each according to "rank" of the parties to be feasted and fed, viz: (1) Chief officers' table, (2) subordinate officers' table and (3) the childrens' table. I am credibly informed that the children are subjected here to harsh and cruel usage. Love is not the law of their treatment; but *coercion* is.

## II. BRUTE FORCE.

The more than a quarter of a century that I have given to the management of children and youth in the school-room, and my experience in bringing up a family of ten—four sons and six daughters—has convinced me that the *perfect teacher* and the *model parent* will inflict no punishments at all; that a resort to brute force in controlling children and youth, at school or at home, is the despairing wail of the vanquished school-master, parent or guardian—a confession of weakness and incompetency on his part. Nothing should be done by parent or teacher, guardian or ward that will des-

troy, or in any degree lessen, self-respect in the mind of the child; but the aim of parent, teacher, etc., should be to increase in the mind of the little one this divine gift to such an extent that the wrong will be hated by it—the plane of enlightenment being reached by the child far above that in which the wrong is voluntarily chosen. It will be but a little while, I trust and most earnestly pray, till the Legislatures of the several states of the Union make it unlawful for teachers in our schools and eleemosynary institutions, in any way, by word, look or act, to make war upon the youths placed in their care to be educated. Let us cease to give to the little ones stones for bread, serpents for fish, and scorpions for eggs.

## III. SELF-ABNEGATION.

The God of Heaven will bless the Sisters of Charity, who without pay or hope of government pension, nursed the sick and wounded of both armies in our fratricidal war. The devotion that led those blessed Sisters to the field and hospital is the *only* motive that should actuate the superintendents and teachers of our public homes and schools.

The State, I declare, does not, with motherly heart, take the little ones, as she ought, in her arms and bless them as Jesus did; but (metaphorically speaking) she mechanically leads them with a cord of "red tape" tied about their little necks as calves are tethered with a rope. Though the food allotted them be good enough, the clothing warm enough, the beds soft enough, yet "better is a dinner of herbs where love is than a stalled ox and hatred therewith." I do not say, that positive hatred of the little ones is shown. Far from it. But the farmer's mechanically feeding and fattening his swine and kine is not identical with a mother's self-sacrificing devotion to her children. It is not love. Are the public homes of our State for children, I earnestly ask, (and let our law-makers answer) the homes of love that Jesus as law-maker would have instituted on the beautiful and bountiful prairies of Iowa—especially the miserable poorhouses into which hundreds of the little ones are cruelly crowded?

## ESSAY XI.--EXCELSIOR.

### ADDRESSED TO YOUNG MEN.

(Spoken at Humboldt, Iowa, September 26, 1875.)

"Zion it shall be said this and that man was born in her. \* \* \* The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people that this man was born there." Psa. 87:5-6.

### I. A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT.

This lovely prairie land has lain here

in all its grandeur and beauty thousands of years. What men have been born here that the Lord shall count when he

writeth up the people? It is men that give glory to a country. Of Zion it shall be said—this and that man was born in her. It is not her soil nor even her beautiful scenery that renders New England famous. It is the men she has produced. Whoever labors to build up his manhood, labors, then, to do that which the Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people. Boston is not so noted for anything as for being the birthplace of Franklin. Homer, during his life was so stingily patronized by his countrymen that he was compelled to beg his bread. One city it is said, he offered to make famous if its authorities would support him; but his offer was declined. Yet after his death seven cities contended for the honor of having been his birthplace. Humble Ayer is famed forever, because about two miles from that town stands a small ivy-covered cottage in which Robert Burns was born. Whose heart is not touched when he hears that name mentioned! what a patriot, what a lover of liberty—how big his heart, how grand his love! What were Scotland without his memory? Few pilgrims would visit her firthinged shores but for his fame. Thousands now make pilgrimage thither just to look inside the humble dwelling where Robert Burns was born, and to wander along the streams made immortal in his songs. Other great names has Scotland, but none so great as his. He conquered adversity, rose to renown, and—here let the curtain fall. He died at the early age of thirty-six—*murdered by the demon, strong drink!*

The name of Franklin is the pride of two cities—Boston and Philadelphia. On Philadelphia, his chosen home, he left impressed indelibly his image. His statue will grace her parks forever. But Boston is not less proud of him. He “was born there!” It was not “favorable circumstances” that produced the greatness of either Franklin or Burns. They grew to grandeur by overcoming adverse conditions. From youth to manhood, and to the end of their lives, they followed an idea. “Excelsior” was their motto. While Burns was breaking flax for a few pence a day, and subsisting on oatmeal porridge, he wrote to his father: “As to this world, I despair of making a figure in it. \* \* \* I foresee that poverty and obscurity probably await me. I am in some measure prepared and am daily preparing to meet them.” We see in this despairing complaint the glimmering of a spark of inextinguishable hope. He was conscious of superior abilities. God was leading him by the hand to the accomplishment of a predestined part in the higher education of mankind—the evolution of universal liberty—of universal human equality—

“A man’s a man for a’ that.”

And, finally, the world beheld and won-

dered at the greatness of the “peasant-bard.” In spite of his humble surroundings, supreme sufferings, and shortcomings, his life was a success. He left his image impressed indelibly upon Scotland. The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people that this man was born there.

Few reach distinction because the many have not the nerve to press on up the steep declivity to the portal of Fame’s proud temple, that stands almost inaccessible upon the rocky heights of the mount of aspiration. They are too easily dispirited. They cannot keep their faces to the pelting storm that rages against them with incessant fury. They retreat terrified and report a lion in the path.

Franklin never lost courage. He went slowly and surely onward and upward. He made frequent discoveries in untraversed seas of science, and he produced from the store house of his ingenuity, mechanical inventions of great practical utility. He was saving of his means; lived a long time on Indian-meal pudding; husbanded his money and time that he might lay up knowledge; was careless of appearances—did not fret if the fool had more costly clothes on than he. He was engaged in giving polish to his mind—accumulating ideas. Ideas are the only real and substantial wealth. Ideas move the world. They are the Archimedian lever. Franklin knew this. He lived in a world of thought. His companions were the great of every age. He communed with Locke and Bacon. He read the best contemporary literature, and he “talked with the lightning and the thunder.” He grew into studious habits by allowing no moments of his valuable life to go to waste.

## II. THE VALUE OF TIME.

Oh, how valuable is time and how prodigal we are of it! “The time,” says Seneca, in his admirable book of “Morals,” (from the bright pages of which I shall illuminate this discourse with frequent and copious citations), “the time allotted us, if it were well employed, were abundantly enough to answer all ends and purposes of mankind, but we squander it away, and when our portion is spent we find the want of it, though we gave no heed to it in the passage, inasmuch that we have rather made our life short than found it so.” Again he says: “We should do by time as we do by a torrent, make use of it while we have it; for it will not last always.” And again: “The wit of man is not able to express the blindness of human folly in taking so much greater care of our fortune—our houses and our money—than we do of our lives. Everybody breaks in upon the one gratis; but we betake ourselves to fire and sword if any man invades the other. \* \* \*

He that takes away a day from me takes away that which he can never restore to me. But our time is either *forced away* from us or *stolen* from us, or *lost*; of which the last is the foulest miscarriage."

Franklin grew into virtuous habits by being a merciless critic of his own conduct. Keeping a strict account of his daily actions and carefully noting his mistakes, he thus guarded against their recurrence. The one word "habit" is the key of heaven and of hell. Good habits are a wall of protection, a citadel of safety to young and old. What but a miracle of grace can lift a man out of the quicksands of evil habits? Franklin merited the honorable title he won, of "philosopher," because he studied how to live, as well as because of his discoveries in natural science. He was the Socrates of America. He regulated his youthful life by a well matured system, based upon sage maxims and brought his passions and appetites under control, recognizing the truth that "he that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city." The following text of Scripture he verified literally in his experience: "Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings."

Washington was a most careful young man. He also studied in youth to regulate his life by "rule and square." He was a diligent student, self-taught. Upright and dignified in his everyday demeanor, he was just the best and truest son of America. [The one man of our day whose life equaled that of Washington, in dignified manliness, unswerving integrity and sublime patriotism, was Wendell Phillips.] You can get no warrant for idleness, vice or intemperance in any shortcomings of the Father of his Country. One has no idea that Washington was ever indiscreet in anything. Isn't he the true type of American manhood? What an example for the youth of our country to follow! He did his whole duty and asked no reward but the love of his countrymen. Devoted entirely to other's good he had no seeming ambition. To be gratefully remembered was his only selfish desire. He gained his wish. He will never be forgotten. Behold him in the firmament, a blazing sun, giving light to all the world! The fame of Washington is not local. He is known and esteemed even in the most remote parts of Asia, Africa and upon the distant Islands of the Sea, as one of the greatest of the sons of men. Yea, in every land is he known and honored. When an American visits a foreign shore he is greeted with the glowing compliment: "Then you are from the land of Washington." Proud land! The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people that this man was born there.

To even name those of our countrymen of whom we are justly proud, would exceed the limits of a discourse like this.

How many, very many, you may take encouragement from, when you see that they were just like you in youth, only poor boys, dependent on their own manly efforts alone for success in life. Such were Henry, Jackson, Clay, Webster, Lincoln, Douglas, Chase, Stanton, Grant, Greeley,—glorious names that in boyhood battled successfully against difficulties just such as each one of you, to succeed, must meet and overcome. But I do not wish to awaken in your minds, young men, the desire of being distinguished, so much as the desire of becoming worthy of being distinguished.

### III. TRUE FREEDOM.

Many think it freedom to indulge their evil passions unrestrained. But it is not freedom. It is slavery. He only is a free man who is striving to do good and be good. Jesus was free. He went right forward to the accomplishment of his divine work, caring not what might stand in the way. He lost his life by it. So much the better. To lose ones life in a good cause is to gain the cause as well as to save the life. He that thus loses his life shall find it. We don't need to go about hunting for an opportunity to give away our lives; but if, in the pursuit of the highest good, life must needs be sacrificed, it is not lost. We only become truly free when we will not pause in our glorious career, for death itself.

But suppose, young man, that you see the undeserving seem to gain all that you have been seeking all your days. Only wait on God—"The mills of the Gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small."

An earthquake, or fire from heaven, will not move a good man from his place. He is a rock, fixed on a sure foundation. He cannot be moved. If he meets a seeming misfortune he says, "It is no misfortune. It will be for the best in the end." There is a law of compensation operating universally. It makes all even. Briefly it is: Benefits counterbalance losses. To illustrate: If I lose my horse and am on that account compelled to bear, on my own shoulders my grists to and from the mill, the compensation to me is in increased strength of body gained by the increased exercise. Walking along Walnut street, in Des Moines, Iowa, one day, in company with a wealthy friend of mine, we beheld a stalwart Sac and Fox Indian, the personification of perfect health and complete physical manhood, pass by. My friend said with a sigh, "I would give all my wealth for that man's health." That coveted health was the Indian's compensation for a life of poverty and exposure, in an open wigwam—coarse food, freedom and fresh air!

The wise man always converts defeat into victory. He comes in at the right moment with his philosophy, as Cromwell did with his Ironsides.

"It is the mind," says Seneca, "that makes us rich and happy in what condition soever we are; and money signifies no more than to the Gods." "Whether is it better," he says, "to have much or enough?" "He that has much," he answers, "desires more and shows that he has not yet enough; but he that has enough is at rest. No man can be poor that has enough, nor rich that covets more than he has. \* \* \* Money never made any man rich; for the more he had the more he coveted. The richest man that ever lived is poor; but he that keeps himself to the stint of nature does neither feel poverty nor fear it. \* \* \* Nature provides for health, not delicacy. \* \* \* A man may lie as warm and dry under a thatched as under a gilded roof. He that has nothing to lose has nothing to fear. \* \* \* It is not the augmenting of our fortunes, but the abating of our appetites that makes us rich. The body is to be indulged no farther than for health. But it is every man's duty to make himself profitable to mankind. \* \* \* It was not by choice meats and perfumes," said he (and we may truly say the same) "that our fathers recommended themselves, but in virtuous actions and the sweat of honest, manly and military labors."

My idea of a truly successful life, is that of one who "leaves the world the better, the wiser and the happier for his having lived in it," who adds to the sum of real good to mankind. Seneca thus extols a life devoted to study:

"That retreat," he says, "is not worth the while which does not afford a man greater and nobler work than business. \* \* \* He that is well employed in his study, though he may seem to do nothing at all, does the greatest things of all others in affairs both human and divine. \* \* \* He withdraws himself to attend the service of future ages; and those counsels which he finds salutary to himself he commits to writing for the good of after times—obliges human nature, not only in the present, but in all succeeding generations."

There are twenty-six letters of the English alphabet, yet into how many thousand different words (over one hundred thousand) those twenty-six letters may be formed! There are as many ways to the correct solution of the problem of a successful life—as many doors open through which the persevering may pass into the temple of Athena.

If we note the difficulties met and overcome by the great men of whom the world is now proud, we shall be encouraged. The most amusing and entertaining of all the works of genius (the *Adventures of Don Quixote*) was written by Cervantes in prison. His enemies confined him there to subdue him; but he walked forth as mighty a conqueror as was Alexander the Great. John Bunyan was locked up twelve years in Bedford jail to

prevent him preaching to the people; but the *Pilgrim's Progress*, written in his confinement, will point the way to the City of God till the world comes to an end. Dante was exiled from his native Florence, and reduced from affluence to beggary, in order to ruin him; but in his exile he wrote the "*Divina Comedia*." At the age of fifty-six he died. His countrymen showed too late that they knew the value of what they had lost, and tried, but in vain, for hundreds of years, to have his mortal remains restored to them. He lies buried at Ravenna; but in Florence to-day it is the proud boast of her people that Dante was born there.

#### IV. CROSS AND CROWN.

"No cross, no crown," says the Christian proverb. Seneca says the same thing in other words. He says: "There is no honor in the victory when there is no danger in the way to it." The same great writer further tells us that, "Calamity tries virtue as the fire does gold. \* \* \* It is the occasion of virtue and a spur to a great mind. \* \* \* God," he continues, "takes delight to see a brave and a good man wrestling with evil fortune and yet keeping himself upon his legs when the whole world is in disorder about him. No man can be happy," he concludes, "that does not stand firm against all contingencies and say to himself in all extremes, 'I should have been content if it might have been so and so, but since it was otherwise determined, God will provide better.' "What," he finally asks, "does he care for ignominy that only values himself on conscience and not opinion? He that is wise," he answers, "will take delight even in an ill opinion that is well gotten. It is ostentation; not virtue, when a man will have his good deeds published; but it is not enough to be just where there is honor to be gotten; but to continue so in spite of ignominy and danger."

While in pursuit of some noble end, if your neighbors and countrymen abuse and persecute you and throw rotten eggs at you (as Garrett Smith and William Lloyd Garrison were frequently served) be not driven from the field or intimidated. One day they will honor your memory as we do now the memory of Smith and Garrison. You can do no praiseworthy action without awakening the envy of little men. Your best actions will be misrepresented, and your most earnest endeavors for the public good will call forth abuse. See Tasso wrongfully imprisoned for seven long years as a lunatic; see Galileo brought before the Inquisition; see Socrates and Seneca condemned to death; see Cicero proscribed and beheaded; see Vane, Sidney Raleigh and Emmett brought to the scaffold; see Lincoln shot down in Ford's theatre, John Brown hung, Huss, Bruno and Servetus burned at the stake,

Stephen stoned to death, and Jesus Christ crucified. But the places where those lofty spirits first beheld the light of day are sacred. "Virtue," Seneca declares, "cannot be hid; for the time will come that shall raise it again (even after it is buried) and deliver it from the malignity of the age that oppressed it. Immortal glory is the shadow of it and keeps it company, whether we will or not; but sometimes the shadow comes before the substance, and at other times it follows; and the later it comes the larger it is, when even envy itself shall have given way to it."

Did Jesus have fears that his truth might fail? "Heaven and Earth shall pass away," he said, "but my words shall not pass away." He entrusted to the keeping of poor, ignorant and de-

spised fishermen his doctrine. He knew that the good is imperishable. He wrote not one page with His own hand—not one word did He put upon parchment. Yet the heaven of his teachings outlasts the centuries, and His name is to-day "above every name."

Oh, young men, be ye like the lowly Nazarine, the protectors of the weak, the lifters up of the downtrodden, the healers of the bruised! Ye are strong. Use your strength in behalf of truth and right, and remember if called to give your lives for your country or for humanity, as thousands of your brave young countrymen have done on many a bloody battlefield, that

"Whether on the scaffold high,  
Or in the battle's van—  
The fittest place for man to die,  
Is where he dies for man."

## ESSAY XII.—THE BEATIFIED.

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO THE CLERGY OF EVERY DENOMINATION IN CHRISTENDOM.

(Spoken at Humboldt, Iowa, September 19, 1875.)

"Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."—MATTHEW V: 8.

The text divides naturally into three distinct subjects of thought, (1) Blessedness, (2) Purity of Heart, and (3) Seeing God.

### I. BLESSEDNESS.

Blessedness (or happiness) is that indefinable boon after which all are seeking and have ever sought from the beginning. To define correctly a happy life was the end kept constantly in view by the philosophers of the olden time, from Socrates to Seneca, who though last in the order of time, is not last in the order of merit. How may blessedness be assured? is the question they sought to answer in lengthy disquisitions, Seneca devoting an entire volume to discoursing of "A happy Life"—a subject which in a single lucid sentence the divine teacher, Jesus, makes so clear that no one can ever question its correctness. Yet, alas! how few shape their hearts and lives in accordance with the truth! Some seek blessedness in the gratification of low animal desires, some in the wine cup, some in hoarded wealth, some in acquired knowledge, some in conquest of nations, and some in the acquisition of fame, as poets, painters, etc.

Who of my hearers will say that sensual gratification brings blessedness? The young and inexperienced are sometimes unfortunately misled into this way of erroneous thinking. Thus deluded they become polluted in body and soul. The grave soon kindly hides them from sight and their names perish! The ancient poets picture the sirens as possessing the most beautiful and fascinating

womanly forms and voices; but whose feet divide into sharp and ugly claws that rend in pieces the unfortunate mariners brought within their power. Ulysses, warned by Circe, took the precaution of being, by his own direction, bound fast with strong cords (that he could not loose) to the mast of his good ship, before he ventured to behold sirens and listen to their songs. Let us sail clear of their enchanted island, not touching its dangerous shores.

How many of us have shed bitter tears of sorrow at beholding the deplorable effects of strong drink! The drunkard seeks blessedness in the wine cup. Oh, my son, beware! In the end it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder. How many of us have beheld near and dear ones go down to drunkard's graves! How many of us have promising sons whom we, in most helpless, hopeless and bitter agony of soul, shall tearfully inter in the inebriate's disgraceful sepulcher! How many of us have well-beloved daughters, whom we have brought up with tenderest care and educated in the best institutions of learning that our grand country affords, to fit them to become the worthy and happy companions of such as God designed man to be,—

"In action, how like an angel;  
In apprehension, how like a god."

Ah, see your darling child heart-broken now, she pines in wretchedness and want! See her, and her naked, starving offspring, shivering about the expiring flame in the empty grate this freezing winter's night.

"Perhaps this hour in Misery's squalid nest  
She strains her infant to her joyless breast,  
And with a mother's fears, shrinks from the  
rocking blast."

What is it that startles and affrights her and her little children so? Is it the unnatural husband and father's foot steps upon the threshold that they hear? Yes, he, the drunken and unworthy, is indeed returned home bleary-eyed, cursing and staggering from his midnight's debauch!

The wine cup may be put far from us in one way only—by our determinedly resisting the demon Intemperance in all his ugly shapes and garbs—and especially the tobacco serpent, clothed as he is in most disgusting, scaly habiliments; that reek with abominable filth and sickening slime, and the odor of whose offensive breath is unbearable. Whoever is a slave to tobacco has already sold his soul to the devil. Whoever is addicted to tobacco and does not become a drunkard, it will be because he stops short of the abyss over which he is tottering and into which he is ready to fall. It will take a very little push to send him headlong into the fiery gulf; for see he has already yielded up his sacred liberty—become a slave to appetite, senseless, unnatural appetite, more degrading than is the appetite for strong drink, and far more foul and disgusting. See his blackened teeth, offensive breath and uncivilized manners and appearance! He cannot carry this savage-acquired practice into any decent place, be it family parlor, sacred pew or palace car. He must submit to be ignominiously banished into dens and caverns of filth by the loathsome tobacco habit. A craving for more potent stimulants is awakened by it, so that it is the almost direct cause of drunkenness. It is Satan let loose on earth for a season, and oh, may that season soon draw to a close and he be confined in the bottomless pit, to remain there for evermore.

The father is anxious that his son shall be more temperate than he, himself, has ever been; for what father would have his darling boy addicted to tobacco? Not one in a million. But if we would have our sons be freemen we must set the example of freedom. All reason and all experience are arrayed against the tobacco habit. Who can account for the almost universal prevalence of this shameful habit and admit man to be a rational creature at all? If reason were the guide of youth, in the formation of habits, it would be necessary to admit that man is not a rational animal. But reason is not the guide, though it ought to be. Example is. Example is the only teacher of youth. This may be stated as a law—a fixed rule that has no exception. The old, too often, are slaves of bad habits acquired in immature youth. Reason is enthroned (if ever) only when the mind

has reached its maturity. Then man *may* consider what he *ought* to do and fight against the great enemy—the Satan of *bad habits acquired in youth*, and disregarding what others *do* he *may* try to do what is "according to reason."

The young imitate what they see done by others, especially by those whom they most admire. The example of the great (as of General Grant in smoking) has a most potent influence for evil over their minds and actions. Badness seems to be catching, like contagious disease. Goodness, like health, is not, it seems, so catching. A bad example set by a great man does incalculable harm.

Another law also steps in to help drag down the young—the law of inheritance. By saturating our flesh and poisoning our blood with the deadly poison of tobacco, our children inherit a diseased craving for stimulants, as consumption and insanity are inherited.

And do ye seek for blessedness, O ye fathers, in the use of tobacco? It is not to be found there. Your tobacco-tainted breath you breathe into the face of the wife of your youth during the long years of your married life, and she, poor soul, religiously bears it as a "cross." We acquired this loathsome practice from the example of the untutored, enemy-scalping, woman-enslaving aborigines of the stone age of America—and it is a practice only suited to the condition of the lowest savages and the degradation of woman. To sit idly, bent over the little squaw-built fire in the center of the lazy Indian's wigwam, expectorating from between dirty, tobacco-scaled teeth the black and disgusting ooze, into the flames and ashes, or upon the vermin-reeking dirt floor, is not greatly out of harmony with the surroundings, yet unsavory even there. But the Indian's wigwam is the only place (we may observe) where men and women sit around the same fire, that the common notice is not posted conspicuously, "No Smoking or Chewing of Tobacco Allowed Here;" for the tobacco habit is incongruous to any condition of civilized life, as all men, (and more especially all women), well know.

And what blessedness is there in the insatiate struggle for wealth? What blunting of the moral sense when we take what is not our own, by charging too high a price for what we have to sell, paying the worker too low a price for his labor, or taking advantage of some technicality of the law to seize our neighbor's farm for a trifling debt. "This love of money is the root of all evil." It is the direct cause of all wars and oppressions, and of nearly all the wrongs that man has to suffer from his fellow men. Does wealth bestow blessedness on its possessor? "I made me great works," says Solomon, "I builded me houses, I planted me vineyards, I made me gardens and orchards and planted trees in them of

all kinds of fruits; I made me pools of water to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees. I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had great possessions of great and small cattle above all that are in Jerusalem before me. I gathered me also silver and gold and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces. I got me men singers and women singers and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments and that of all sorts. So I was great and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem. Also my wisdom remained with me, and whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them. I withheld not my heart from any joy; for my heart rejoiced in all my labors: and this was the portion of all my labor. Then I looked on all the works my hands had wrought and on the labor that I had labored to do; and behold all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun."

A similar experience the wise king had in pursuit of knowledge. "I saw," he said, "that wisdom excelleth folly as far as light excelleth darkness; the wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness—and I perceived also that one event happened to all. Then I said in my heart, as it happeneth to the fool so it happeneth even to me, and why was I then made wise? Then I said in my heart that is also vanity."

Solomon's wisdom, then, did not bring true blessedness to him. It would not to us. To be acquainted with all the secrets of science, to have scaled the mountain peaks of knowledge, and to have explored her ocean beds and hidden caves, to have deciphered all the hieroglyphics on the tombs along the Nile, to have read the inscriptions on all the tablets found on the plains of Babylon, and to have amassed the learning of a Newton or a Humboldt, would not make us blest—would not satisfy. To be a statesman great as Pericles or Lincoln, or an orator like Demosthenes or Webster, or a conqueror great as Alexander or Wellington, would not bring us true blessedness. Was the greatest of poets, even Homer, truly happy? Was Byron or Chatterton, or Burns, or Keats, or Poe? The painter before his canvas,

"Plucking the shadows wild forth with his reaching fancy."

Is he truly blest?

"Ah, there's a deathless name,  
A spirit that the smothering vault shall  
spurn,  
And like a steadfast planet mount and burn."

But the poet moralizes:

"This unreined ambition  
Turns the heart to ashes, and with not a  
spring  
Left in the desert for the spirit's lip,  
We look upon our splendor and forget  
The thirst with which we perish."

## II. PURITY OF HEART.

"Happiness belongs to the mind and depends not for its existence upon outward conditions"—is the doctrine of the philosophers of antiquity. "The seat of it is within," says my favorite Seneca; and there is no cheerfulness like the resolution of a brave mind that has fortune under his feet. He that can look death in the face and bid it welcome; open his doors to poverty and bridle his appetites; this is the man whom providence has established in the possession of inviolable delights." Again he says: "the true felicity of life is to be free from perturbations, to understand our duties towards God and man; to enjoy the present without any anxious dependence upon the future. Not to amuse ourselves with either hopes or fears, but to rest satisfied with what we have, which is abundantly sufficient; for he that is so wants nothing." This is the Roman virtue: "An invincible greatness of mind not to be elevated or dejected by good or ill fortune." And this the Roman wisdom:—"The habit of a perfect mind and the perfection of humanity raised as high as nature can carry it."

Let me now seriously inquire: Does the divine law of Jesus Christ rise higher than the sublime level of the ancient excellence here brought to view? I answer unhesitatingly, *it certainly does*. It includes all this and adds something supereminently higher still. It introduces and emphasizes an elemental perfection of personal character wanting in the bulldog "virtue" and selfish "wisdom" of the Greek and Roman philosophy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart." Here is the blessedness, not of the hardened warrior steeling his soul against suffering; but of the angels of love in Paradise. The old philosophy seems to have oozed out from among the rocks of the world's iron age of war, cruelty and woe; christianity to have flowed out of crystal springs inside the Garden of Eden before the fall, ere war, cruelty and woe were known. Philosophy seems to have been given as an armor of steel to protect its stubborn possessors against the attacks of savage men, armed with battle-axes, pikes and bludgeons. Christianity seems to have been given to inspire compassionate men to do disinterested deeds of love, charity and mercy, to heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out the demons, make the deaf hear, the blind see, the lame walk, to take the little children up in loving arms and bless them, and to bring the dead to life. The accounts of christian martyrdoms from Stephen to Servetus prove how well christianity prepares the mind to endure, too, all kinds of sufferings with a most willing submission and sublime fortitude.

Jesus directs his speech to a higher order of spirits than the rough Greek and Roman warriors, that the philos-

ophy of that day was fitted for and addressed to, when he pronounces his benediction of "blessed" upon the "pure in heart." He seems to be addressing the glorified hosts of heaven, or such of earth as Milton describes:

"For God will deign  
To visit oft the dwellings of just men  
Delighted, and with frequent intercourse  
Thither send his winged messengers  
On errands of supernal grace."

"Thrice happy men  
And sons of men whom God hath thus advanced,  
Created in His image there to dwell  
And worship Him and in reward to rule  
Over His works on earth, in sea, or air,  
And multiply a race of worshippers,  
Holy and just: thrice happy if they know  
Their happiness and persevere upright."

The philosophy of Greece and Rome took man as it found him in that day and regulated his actions, conforming them to an arbitrary law formulated in the intellect of the theorist; but it left the man unchanged in heart, except, perhaps, to be more dogged still. But Jesus takes the unregenerate man in hand to regenerate him,—("you must be born again") begins with the heart—changes it, and thus (the heart being the fountain-head of human actions) he changes the whole subsequent conduct of the man. Saul becomes Paul, not in obedience to a philosophy learned by him through a long course of study in the schools (though he once sat at the feet of the eminent Judean teacher, Gamaliel,) but in obedience to a new love instantaneously implanted in his heart.

True, indeed, his mind was, at the same time, changed. New ideas had entered his brain; but they passed through it and penetrated his heart; or rather, we may say, his radiant heart enkindling his mind, inflamed it to a blazing torch. He sat on his horse a heartless sheriff with warrants in his possession "from the chief priests of Jerusalem" directing him to arrest and punish violators of the Jewish law in Damascus; he arose from the ground a philanthropist, of whom John Howard and Elizabeth Fry were but faint shadows. He groped at first in darkness, his duty not being immediately clear to him, but his heart had become so enlarged that it comprehended the universe. It became the dwelling place of the infinite God. All aglow with flaming zeal, the electric glare of Christ-given love, he soon was seen wending his ecstatic way on foot from province to province of the Roman Empire, from Palestine to Spain, preaching a strange, and before unheard of doctrine of self-sacrificing gentleness and compassionate love in an age of supreme selfishness, cruelty and hate, when men knew only bloodshed and heartless tyranny. He was heard with amazement by the great. Even the fair-minded Festus said to him: "Paul, Paul, thou art beside thyself, much learning doth make

thee mad;" but Paul meekly replies: "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness."

Which is the more rational method, that of the philosophers or that of Jesus? I say emphatically, that of Jesus; because from the heart proceeds action (passion is the source of action); from the head proceeds illumination. It was not reason that led Warren to his death on Bunker Hill; it was passion—sublime patriotism. Reason is as cold, rigid and dead as a snake in mid-winter, until warmed into suppleness and life in the sunshine of passion. Recognizing the truth, then, that from the heart proceed all human actions, good and bad, as from a fountain flows water, sweet and bitter, the necessity for a pure heart antecedent to a correct and blissful life is apparent. It is apparent, also, why the New Testament writers make so much of love. Certainly the New Testament is a great poem of the heart. Certainly Christianity is the poetry of the heart of God.

By the light of reason the impurities of the human heart may be brought into view. By the light of reason men may discover the obstructions on the track of the celestial railroad. Reason is the headlight of the locomotive; but the power that impels the ponderous engine forward toward the City of God, or backward toward the City of Destruction, proceeds from the heart. Jesus taught by parables. He was a most convincing reasoner. By the three-deep pharisean syllogism (Aristotlian logic) Paul was aided in his successful warfare against Judaism and Paganism. But all-conquering love was ever foremost in the battle line, clad in armor more invulnerable and bearing a shield more resplendent than the hero of the Iliad—the invincible Achilles bore—and to love belongs the palm of victory. Within the christian's heart dwell the trinity of virtues, Faith, Hope and Love, but the greatest of these is love.

I must further emphasize the thought that the blessedness of the religion of Jesus comes to none but the good; that the "divine physician" gives no opiates; but he "heals the sick." And His blessedness is the supreme joy of moral, spiritual, and I may add, physical healthfulness. He anticipates a "new earth in which dwelleth righteousness"—a new order of healthful souls under the dominion of love; and, in his sublime beatitudes, He addresses this audience of heavenly-minded persons—the truly beatified—"the poor in spirit," "they that mourn," "the meek," "they that hunger and thirst after righteousness," "the merciful," "the pure in heart," "the peace-makers," "the persecuted for righteousness' sake,"—and "the falsely accused" for the sake of Jesus—in a word, true christians. Now, if you say, there

are few of these to-day, I will reply that the world will yet be fully peopled by them. Such must be the effect of the heaven of his love; such the growth of the grain of mustard seed. Then will all men "see God;" for "He shall dwell with them and be their God, and they shall be His people."

### III. SEEING GOD.

The ancients, long anterior to the Christian Era, believed it possible for the impure soul to become pure. Bud-dah says: "Let man blow off the impurities of his soul as the smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little." A modern apostle of liberty and truth, Theodore Parker, has said:

"The world is close to the body; God closer to the soul, not only without, but within, for the all-pervading current flows into each. The clear sky bends over each man, little or great. Let him uncover his head. There is nothing between him and infinite space. So, the ocean of God encircles all men. Uncover thy soul of its sensuality, selfishness, sin, there is nothing between it and God, who flows into the man as light into the air. Certainly, as the open eye drinks in the light, do the "pure in heart see God."

Let us accept, then, the truths that sages and philosophers, poets and

prophets of old and of modern times, have bequeathed us, separating the chaff from the wheat—proving all things, hold fast that which is good. Christianity is leaving off, as an old, worn-out garment, the superstitions that enshrouded it in the past—the sectarian narrowness and persecuting bigotry, as well. Soon there will be but one church—the universal Brotherhood and Sisterhood. Love is the fulfilling of the law. It is all-conquering. The ice-floes of barbarism—cruelty and war—will melt under its benign rays, that shall beam with a superior brightness after awhile, when the clouds of ignorance shall have rolled entirely away.

"Forthwith our air  
Cleared of the rack that hung on it before  
Glitters: and with its beauties all unveiled,  
The firmament looks forth serene and smiles,"

Then in our evening canopy will that most resplendent star that Dante beheld in Paradise appear:

"O grace, unenvying of thy boon that gavest  
Boldness to fix so earnestly my ken  
On the everlasting splendor, that I looked  
While sight was unconsumed, and in that  
depth  
Saw in one volume clasped, (of love) what-  
e'er  
The universe unfolds: all properties  
Of substance and of accident beheld  
Compounded, yet one individual light the  
The whole."

## THE TRIUMPH OF WOMAN.

### OPTIMIST, PESSIMIST.

*"Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth.—JESUS.*

#### OPTIMIST.

The social evil, half its woes no pen can e'er depict;  
I honor thee for thy good work, Lovina Benedict!  
The silent workers, good and true, will bring the day about  
That we have long been praying for when evil shall die out;  
When man shall rise superior to lust and selfish greed  
And woman shall be disenthralled as nature's God decreed;  
She walks the earth an angel now, the light of every zone;  
She is the queen of loveliness, to her is sin unknown,  
Until by man (her only shield) is confidence betrayed;  
In him is all the villainy; on him the sin be laid!

#### PESSIMIST.

Right here is where your reasoning, O Optimist's unsound;  
'Tis man to whom she looks for help to lift her from the ground.  
See how Lovina Benedict was pelted with rebuffs  
By the Solon Legislators—how a raft of brainless roughs  
(The champions of lager beer, limburger, sauer kraut,  
Cough, wink and nudge each other, and then coldly bow her out!  
The whiskey rings must rule, you know, and "personal liberty!"

(The only cry that durst be raised) means gross debauchery;  
It means to license dens of shame; open the gates of Death;  
Therefore whoever cries "reform" will only waste his breath.

#### OPTIMIST.

Have courage, brother! I behold the dawn of true reform—  
The cause of woman triumphant; God comes not in the storm,  
The quiet workers will prevail, with woman in the van,  
And Mary Darwin live to see, and Martha Callanan,  
Our daughters honored as our sons; our mothers, (names revered!)  
And our good wives—bone of our bone—to us still more endeared  
By the interest they shall evince in every glorious cause,  
Grafting by ballot wisest thought and heart-prayers on our laws.  
And this is all that woman asks: Make life's arena broad—  
An ample field in which to toil, a gleaner for her God.  
Oh why should they wear shackles, those proud mothers of our sons;  
To them far dearer than to us are home and little ones!  
Haste, haste to place within their reach stout weapons of defense;  
That for of home then quickly dies, demon Intemperance!

Yea their interests they are greater than man's  
selfish interests, far;  
Theirs, clearly theirs (flesh, blood and bone) all  
human creatures are.  
Fond mothers will protect their sons when they  
have power to save;  
When they can vote, I must believe, an evil finds  
a grave;  
Enfranchised women! with glad songs the event  
will angels hail—  
War end forever; "peace on earth, good will  
toward men" prevail.

## PESSIMIST.

O friend, how very different all things appear to  
me!  
That happy outcome of your dreams this world  
will never see;  
Black Tyranny and Cruelty, while man exists,  
remain,  
And Poverty and Woe and Sin, and sordid Lust  
of Gain.  
An everlasting conflict fierce rages 'twixt Right  
and Wrong  
Despite the voice of prophets old and later  
poet's song;  
Despite all theorizing 'tis the great Creator's  
plan;  
Decay is Nature's finality and death the doom of  
man;  
And Sin is ever uppermost and Evil triumphs  
still;  
The universal tendency's not upward, but down  
hill;  
Yea, man has been a tyrant, and fond woman's  
been misused,  
(No one will ever question this) and she'll be still  
abused;  
Though she stands (in her importance in the  
universe) ahead,  
The primal source of life on earth (as you have  
truly said);  
For, man was given the greater strength by  
Heaven's supreme decree.  
And she must bow submissive lest existence  
cease to be.  
This thesis, friend, you will admit: "The  
stronger must prevail."

## OPTIMIST.

Will mind succumb to matter then, the cause of  
woman fail?  
Superior in the moral realm, the gods must yield  
to her;  
Wielding the potent wand of love she will be  
conqueror.  
Woman! Call her feeble! there are ripples on  
the deep;  
Remove old Ocean from his bed: Why, Her-  
cules, you sleep!  
She asks no "rights" for selfish ends; for see  
where Love commands  
She strikes down "Self!" To shield the weak  
she every ill withstands.  
The fear of death has no restraint when Love  
bids her to move;  
When Memphis felt the fatal plague behold fond  
woman's love!  
She leaps into the jaws of Death, not for the ba-  
ble fame,  
Not as the brave "six hundred" charged, her  
motive not the same.  
What bore her to the scene of woe? Her heart  
that never fails!  
How many sleep in unknown graves, true Flor-  
ence Nightengales!  
Though timid, like the harmless roe when dan-  
ger is afar,  
Cool and collected, undismayed, where Death  
and Danger are!  
Kate Shelley braves the Storm-fiend's rage,  
Darkness, the roaring Flood;  
Does Fear deter? Love leads her on; but who  
protects her? God!  
The social evil must die out when we remove its  
cause;  
See woman then its cause remove when she dic-  
tates the laws!

## PESSIMIST.

But, Optimist, the social sin has always cursed  
our earth;  
How little 'tis abated even since the Saviour's  
birth!  
Or since poor Mary Magdalene beheld its anti-  
dote  
In him, the true Redeemer! And what now  
(though woman vote)  
Can be done to lift the fallen from the slums and  
hold them up?  
Oh I'd rejoice to see removed the poisoned, bit-  
ter cup  
That the millions (darling daughters fondest pa-  
rents doted on)  
Now drink, are lost, "abandoned!" Oh that day  
for them might dawn!  
Egyptian night enshrouds them. Like the giddy  
butterfly,  
In a blaze of sensuality, behold them flit and die!

## OPTIMIST.

The answer, Pessimist, is given, when you the  
Saviour name;  
The antidote is love! 'Twill all the Magdalenes  
reclaim;  
The love engrafted on our laws that beams from  
woman's soul,  
The love that Christ imparted, 'twill the univers-  
control!  
Will lift the abandoned from the slums. The  
Heaven-sent antidote  
Will be applied to every ill when woman casts  
her vote.  
For drunkards grand asylums, and for the aban-  
doned homes;  
When she prevails we hear the shout: "Behold  
the Master comes;"  
Yea, this (His second coming) mighty prophets  
old foresaw,  
When He shall reign a thousand years and love  
shall be the law!  
Not anything that she deems wrong will she  
(lawmaker) do;  
And righteousness placed in the laws will curb  
the greedy few,  
Will give the toiling many all the products of  
their toil;  
Will break the foul monopolies: land, railroad,  
standard oil,  
Remove the cause of social vice; give all a work;  
and give  
To all the certain prospect that by labor they  
shall live.

## PESSIMIST.

You are too sanguine in your hopes, kind Opti-  
mist, by far;  
For woman is as greedy as all other creatures  
are;  
And she will wink at evil if that evil bring her  
wealth;  
And she will be as ready quite to overreach by  
stealth;  
Corruption, too, in politics, will not be less ram-  
pant;  
Old England has a queen, you know, with heart  
of adamant;  
Beholds the woes of Ireland; beholds the millions  
die  
Of hunger, robbed, oppressed; and yet her gra-  
cious eyes are dry!

## OPTIMIST.

Man is the first when evil comes to grasp the  
sinful cup;  
When evil dies, see he is then the last to give it  
up!  
The wave that drowns King Alcohol, drowns the  
tobacco fiend;  
Who last, I ask, is't he or she that from its power  
is weaned?  
And though you blame the British queen, the  
fault rests not with her;  
For England's sins arraign her lords and her  
Prime Minister.  
Let suffrage be extended in Great Britain; let all  
men

(And women too) go to the polls as equals, and right then  
 A mighty revolution would the world at once behold,  
 And Ireland would rejoice indeed with blessings manifold.  
 When this shall come about, dear friend, in every Christian land,  
 God's kingdom we behold in fact; the armies all disband;  
 The world we see united in a sisterhood of states, A congress of all nations meet (peaceful confederates!)  
 To settle all disputed points. The sword will nevermore  
 Be drawn from out its scabbard to be stained with human gore.

## PESSIMIST.

When Selfishness has ceased to be, and kings are overthrown,  
 And when the toiling millions stand together and are one,  
 We may hope to see the happy time that you anticipate,  
 When each shall seek the other's good and all co-operate

To lift the helpless from the dust and care for the distressed;  
 To give the enfeebled pleasant homes and to the toilers rest.

## OPTIMIST.

That blessed day is sure to come and now is almost here,  
 When Might shall cease to be the law and none will domineer;  
 When Righteousness will reign on earth and "right" the only end.  
 And man will be no longer "lord," but woman's trusted friend;  
 And it is plain and plausible that cruel, bestial Force  
 Has in this age of Intellect now nearly run his course;  
 The weaker are the stronger, and the mighty are the weak,  
 The world is newly peopled; its inhabitants the meek.

Feb. 25, 1883.

## ESSAY XIII—CRIMES AND CRIMINALS.

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO ALL LEGISLATORS THE WORLD OVER.

(Spoken at Humboldt, Iowa, October 17, 1875.)

*"Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."*—JOHN viii: 11.

## I. GUARDIANSHIP.

Just how far has community a right to inflict punishment or pain upon individuals for crime? I undertake to say, and to defend the idea, that no man, no set of men, no state, no power on earth has a right to even pluck a hair from a living man's head in the way of *hurting* him for his acts. It is not right to punish men for crime, in the sense that we commonly understand the word punishment. When I say that I believe it is not right, I mean that it is wrong and, in my opinion, contrary to good policy and a violation of natural right to fine a man, taking from him his earnings, or to inflict upon him pain for violating law; and I give as my authority for so saying and so believing, the words of Jesus, "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

When the divine law of christian love has become crystalized in the laws of the land, it will be acknowledged that the chief blame rests on community for the crimes of individuals, and the community will then endeavor to prevent the recurrence of evil by doing now for the criminal (better late than never) what it had neglected to do for him in his boyhood—give him correct *ideas* by means of *instruction* in its schools. To do this the state must regard the criminal as a child. A man may be as robust as Goliath and as strong as Samson physically whose mind (and the mind is the man) is the same as the mind of a boy ten years old. When the individual fails as an individual and cannot, for want

of moral culture and stamina, walk uprightly, he ought to be put under guardianship and kindly tutelage—be instructed in the way of uprightness. That is all the state has any right to do with the individual—to declare him legally a child unable to walk alone when he fails as a man. It has a right to appoint a guardian over him and to give him work to do; and it should give him full pay for doing it, that he may earn a living for himself and family. It has a right (duty rather) to place within his reach good books, and to give him kind and enlightened teachers who will impart to him correct ideas. The criminal laws of the land should have only one aim in so far as the criminal is concerned, viz: *reformation*, and this reformation can be brought about only by kindly treatment, and education of his moral nature.

But may it not be objected that the "vicious and vagabond class" will voluntarily seek admission to these reform institutions on account of the comforts and conveniences afforded? I reply, that will be as I would desire, for is it not better to have them come voluntarily than to have the expense put upon the State of their arrest, trial, and the giving of rewards by the Governor for their apprehension, after they shall have committed some awful crime—driven to it by their surroundings—the want of fraternal regard and patronizing friendliness of the social arrangements of the community in which they are placed by circumstances beyond their control—*forced* into crime by the barbarism of the age. Those who can-

not by their own effort find useful, pleasant, healthful and remunerative employment, should be given such employment by the state—the commonwealth taking care that no human energies be wasted, that no willing arm be idle; but all resources of mind and muscle be systematically called into use and put into action for the common good, by the co-operation of a christian people working to the end of perfecting the social fabric.

When all men and all women feel toward the outcasts as Jesus felt towards them, we shall have infirmaries, reformatories, pleasant hospitals, retreats, homes for the erring, wherein they shall find sincere love. Then the sick will be healed, the blind brought to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the dead to live. Indeed the erring will be more tenderly cared for than the good; for “the whole need not a physician, but the sick,” and “what man of you having a hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety-and-nine in the wilderness and go after that which is lost?” And it is important to ask how long will he go after the lost? The answer is, “until he find it!” We shall be peculiarly solicitous that pleasant homes and remunerative employment be provided for the erring and sinful, that good influences be thrown around them and they reclaimed to virtue and to society, that the whole family of man may be happy, that none of our dear brothers and sisters may be wandering in darkness and the valley and shadow of death. We ought to run out after them and seek for them, as did the shepherd his lost lamb, not as individuals only, but as a state, and continue seeking until we find them. Our criminal code to-day is little more christian than are the criminal laws of the Cannibal Islands. Our laws are not inspired by love of the sinner, but by hate. There is no effort to restore the lost sheep to its pasture, but to slay it. If mankind were as ready to *act* the part of christians as they are to *make professions of christianity* it would require no argumentation to secure the reforms here proposed.

## II. THE DIVINE IN MAN.

The State, I insist, has no more right to take the life of a human being than I have, or to rob a man of his earnings than I have. The many have no rights that do not belong equally to the few. If we would have individuals quit murdering and robbing, the state must first cease to murder and rob. If *one* has no right to kill, the *millions* have no right to kill, and a right that does not exist cannot be delegated to a sheriff.

The individual flows along the prepared channel, that circumstances have dug for him, like water in a canal, and few souls are strong enough to break over the embankment and form a better

channel for themselves, by force God given. Men are as weak, as a rule, in the direction of their passions, appetites and habits as new born babes. There is, however, a latent love of right in every immortal mind. That love of right is the divine spark of immortality itself. It is the never-dying man. It is all that is human. It is all that is divine. It is the essential being. All else is foreign. All else is capable of elimination. This is everlasting. It is derived from deity, and is as eternal as God himself. To enkindle to a mighty flame this divine spark in every human breast is the object of christian effort for the redemption of the fallen in this world, and in the world to come.

I mean to say that the person is not greatly blamable, as a rule, for his life however bad that life; but the environment is mainly at fault. As with the growth of grain, so with the growth of the human mind. The best seed may produce a poor crop, if planted in bad soil, of a cold season and tillage neglected. Blame not the seed if the crop fail under these circumstances. But if the seed be fatally bad it is a defect of nature. So is inherited disease of mind and body,—and not less inherited viciousness than inherited insanity or consumption—to be pitied, and if possible *cured*, not punished. “Punitive justice,” so-called, is barbarity. It is heathenish *injustice*.

You may make water rise to the clouds by the application of heat, and you may make a saint of a Saul of Tarsus, if you change his heart by a proper presentation of divine truth and light. But how may Jesus reach him to convert him? and how may the divine brightness shine down upon him? Jesus may reach him through the meditation of kind words: “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?” through the ministration of angels of mercy like Elizabeth Fry; and the light may shine down upon him from the countenances of brothers—of men who have in them the mind that was in Jesus—of men who love their fellow-men—of christians indeed. It isn’t the hail storm or hurricane that makes the grass grow, the trees bud and blossom and bear fruit. It is the gentle rain and the mild and loving sunlight. Gentleness and love win the most obdurate to virtue. as the warm sunshine melts the mountains of ice and snow, and transforms nature, making the birds sing and the heart of the husbandman glad. It is around the sun that worlds revolve, turning to it for light and heat; and around the Son of Righteousness, the loving Jesus, mankind have gathered for eighteen hundred years with admiration, adoration and worship; and from him they may learn how to govern states and what words should be written in the text of all the criminal codes of the nations, viz: “Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more.”

### III. SPIRITS IN PRISON.

It is the *wrong* that should be condemned, and not the wrong doer; it is the *sin* that should be attacked and not the sinner. To "take away the sin of the world," was the mission of Jesus. The sin of the world will be removed when we remove the cause of sin. When the world "shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the deep," the cause of sin will then have been removed.

True "knowledge of the Lord" is the antidote of the poison of sin.

"Vice is a monster of such hideous mien  
That to be hated needs but to be seen."

Remove the scales from the sinner's eyes so that he may, like Saul, be brought to see and he will hate sin, as Paul hated it. The cause of sin is the want of moral growth and development. To cultivate the moral nature of man you must let the gentle showers of mercy fall upon him and the sunlight of love shine down upon him. You cannot convert a sinner and make him a saint by violent treatment. You peel all the bark off his moral nature by rough usage in jail and penitentiary, so that moral growth is thereafter impossible. You thus deaden the man morally, and make him dry up and wither like a girdled tree. The human soul is a tender plant that needs watering with gentleness and placing in the sunlight of love.

Let us take measures to lead the criminal to God—to waken in him hopes of the here and the hereafter, to put in him a new heart, a new mind and new purposes. There are thousands of philanthropic men, and millions, I may truly say, of philanthropic women who would love to devote their lives to the work of lifting up the weak, of reforming the vicious by christian gentleness and love, if only encouraged to do so by the public authorities. I see the time near when our people shall have stepped upon the higher plane of enlightenment—when men shall no longer be looking after their own selfish interests and "happiness," but shall be studying how they may, at whatever cost of personal sacrifice and suffering, bring up those below them to the same plane of unselfish consecration to humanity as they themselves occupy. Society will then be a family of love. The widows and fatherless will no longer be in want; and the unfortunate and erring, the weak and despairing shall be given a work to do, being surrounded, not by cruel tormentors, but by angels of love and mercy. Give me a christian state and there is realized the New Jerusalem—Heaven come down to earth. My idea of heaven is of good angels constantly employed lifting up the lowly—a glorious school of righteousness in which the exalted spirits

are instructing those below them—"preaching to the spirits in prison."

No one should embrace any cause for any motive except *the good he may do*; nor should he falter in his course for hope of reward or even the fear of death. *Enlist to fight and suffer.* That is christianity—the christian warfare. Let one embrace Christ for the sake of following him [as did the humble disciple Father Damien.] I would rather be a water-bearer in perdition than to sit on a throne playing upon a golden harp in paradise.

It is a perversion of the christian idea for one to seek happiness for himself. The thought uppermost with many, "How shall I win Heaven or how shall I escape Hell," is not a christian aspiration. It is grounded in love of self—not in love of God or love of man. The christian can only ask, "*How can I do the most good!*" The true christian's only motive to action is an uncontrollable desire and passion to relieve suffering, and to lift up the down-trodden. God is love and the christian knows no motive but love.

The wand of love touching the heart of the so-called "depraved" will cause the bright waters of true repentance to gush out of it, as the glassy current gushed out of the rock in the wilderness when touched by the rod of Moses. The worst man's heart, if we could only see it, would prove to be, I think, almost an exact duplicate of the best man's heart—only its fountains of sweet waters would be seemingly dry.

Is there any danger of our becoming too kind to one another? of there arising too great love between man and man? of our doing too much for our suffering fellow-men? What if all men should embrace each other as brothers? What if all should say "We will no longer forge chains and fetters, no longer manufacture cannons, guns, swords and pistols—no longer build jails and penitentiaries; but we will join to help and care for one another. We will build no more monitors and iron-clads; but we will establish asylums for the unfortunate, we will take our erring brothers and erring sisters lovingly by the hand and say to them 'We do not condemn thee; go and sin no more.'"

When Elizabeth Fry entered Newgate the officers of the prison warned her that her life would be endangered; but her kindness and love won the love of the unfortunate ones.\*

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\*The district nurse in the purlieus of White-chapel is a reverend and privileged person. The roughs and slangers of the foulest dens, hidden away in tortuous alleys and lanes, yield to her goodness and devotion. Where the clergyman would be badly handled, where the policeman cannot go alone at night without endangering his life, the nurse on her mission of mercy can freely enter at all times; for the most degraded and hardened criminal, seeing the badge of her office in her uniform, would make way respect-

"Within a short time," says her biographer, "a very short time, the whole scene was marvellously changed. Like the maniac of Geneseret, from whom the legion of devils had been cast out, these once wild and wretched creatures were seen neatly clothed, busily employed, arranged under the care of monitors with a matron at the head of them, comparatively speaking, in their right minds. Numerous were the throngs of well educated persons in that land who pressed after her from prison to prison, and hospital to hospital, in order to learn from her example, the lesson of doing good to the most degraded and sorrowful of mankind." It only requires that we open the pages of history and read the brief record of philanthropy (and it will not take long to read the little regarding it; for the records of bloodshed and cruelty make up the bulk of human history, while a short page contains about all that is said of the work of the philanthropic—a divine book was written, it is true, giving a brief account of Jesus' superlative work of love, in the three years of his active ministry, on our planet. And I am sorry to have to confess that a very diminutive scroll tells all that his disciples have done, up to this hour following in his footsteps). I say that it requires only that we read this short record to be convinced that love can reform the erring, and that love will transform the world into an Eden of bliss.

#### IV. COUNT RUMFORD'S SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT.

Benjamin Thompson (better known as Count Rumford) was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, March 26, 1753. By an accident of good fortune he became a resident of Bavaria, a German principality, in the year 1784. The elector of that principality at that time was Charles Theodore—a man of enlightened mind, whose ambition was to elevate the state and add to the happiness of the people over whom he reigned. He appointed Thompson (who received from him the title of Count Rumford) as his chief minister of reform, directing him to rectify whatever was wrong in public affairs. After reforming the army and improving immeasurably the condition of the people generally, he turned his attention especially to the unemployed

poor and friendless outcasts. His biographer says:

"The number of itinerant beggars of both sexes and all ages, as well foreign as native, who strolled about the country in all directions, levying contributions upon the industrious inhabitants, *stealing and robbing and leading a life of indolence and the most shameless debauchery*, was quite incredible." Count Rumford put an end to this evil by establishing, with the aid of state funds, manufactories, furnishing employment to all these people able to work, and by organizing a system of public support of all the deserving and helpless poor. Two thousand six hundred of both sexes and various ages were gathered into one great industrial establishment in Munich and put to work in a single week after the doors of the manufactory were first opened. This institution was called the Military Work-House, because it was fitted up with money from the military chest and was designed chiefly to supply the army with clothing, &c. Yet it was a vast shop of all-work. A suitable building was fitted up; a large kitchen and large eating room, commodious bake house, workshops for carpenters, smiths, turners, and such other mechanics, were established and furnished with tools. Large halls were fitted up for spinners of hemp, spinners of flax, for spinners of cotton, for spinners of wool and for spinners of worsted; and adjoining each hall a small room was fitted up for a clerk or inspector of the hall. Halls were likewise fitted up for weavers of woollens, weavers of serges and shalloons, for linen weavers, for weavers of cotton goods and for stocking weavers; and workshops were provided for clothiers, cloth-shearers, dyers, saddlers, besides rooms for wool-sorters, wool-carders, wool-combers, knitters, seamstresses, &c. Magazines were fitted up for finished manufactures as for raw materials and rooms for counting houses, store rooms for kitchen and bake-house, and dwelling rooms for the inspectors and other officers. The whole edifice, which was very extensive, was fitted up in the neatest manner possible. In doing this even the external appearance of the building was attended to. It was handsomely painted without and within, and pains were taken to give it an air of elegance as well as of neatness and cleanliness. The whole establishment was swept twice a day. Great pains were taken to promote the comfort of the people while at work, and to render the work agreeable to them. The rooms were well warmed in winter, well ventilated, pleasant and healthful all the time. As far as elegance was possible in halls devoted to work it was consulted, and the kindest usage was the order of the institution. The people arrived at the establishment at a fixed hour in the morning; they continued at their work

fully, and the lowest and most abandoned woman would find no ribald word at her command for one who comes thus in the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. I have the testimony of a nurse of long experience that, in her professional dress, she would not fear to enter the worst Whitechapel den at any hour of day or night. If a hand were raised to harm her, a thousand would fly to her defence. The sacred cause she represents can hold in awe the brutal and depraved instincts of the lowest class of human beings, thus showing where the work of redemption must begin, and how it is to be carried on successfully.—*AGUSTA LARNED. (Leaves from a Foreign Note Book.)*

till the hour of dinner, when they repaired to the dining hall, where they were furnished with a good dinner of white bread and fine rich soup, and after some hours of further work, they were dismissed as from any other manufactory, and had all the rest of the time at their own disposal. Besides the dinner hour, which was allowed as relaxation to all in the establishment, two additional hours, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon, were allowed to the younger workers, during which they assembled in one hall and were taught reading, writing and arithmetic by a master paid for the purpose; and neither they nor the adults were over worked. All received good wages, which were regularly paid.

"By constant practice the workers soon became expert in their several callings, and in a short time it was no longer a mere benevolent institution; but the workers fully earned their wages. In the sixth year of its existence the demand upon it for goods amounted to half a million of florins, and the net profits to the State of the manufactory for the six years were one hundred thousand florins."

On the merits of the institution in reclaiming the formerly loathsome, vicious and wretched, to cleanliness, propriety, happiness (the point I have in view to illustrate) hear the words of Count Rumford himself. After alluding to the expertness of the various workers, he proceeds; "But what was quite surprising, and at the same time interesting in the highest degree, was the apparent and rapid change which was produced in their manners. The kind usage they met with, and the comforts they enjoyed, seemed to have softened their hearts and awakened in them sentiments as new and surprising to themselves as they were interesting to those about them. The melancholy gloom of misery, the air of uneasiness and embarrassment, disappeared little by little from their countenances and were succeeded by a timid dawn of cheerfulness, rendered most exquisitely interesting by a certain mixture of silent gratitude, which no language can describe. In the infancy of the establishment, when these poor creatures were first brought together, I used very frequently," he says "to visit them, to speak kindly to them and to encourage them; and I seldom passed through the hall where they were at work without being witness to the most moving scenes. Objects formerly the most miserable and wretched, whom I had seen for years as beggars in the streets; young women, perhaps the unhappy victims of seduction, who having lost their reputation and being turned adrift in the world without a friend and without a home, were reduced to the necessity of begging to sustain a miserable existence, now recognized me as their

benefactor, and with tears dropping fast from their cheeks, continued their work in the most expressive silence. If they were asked what the matter was with them their answer was 'nichtz' (nothing) accompanied with a look of affectionate regard and gratitude so touching as frequently to draw tears from the most insensible of the bystanders. Will it be reckoned vanity," he continues "if I mention the concern which the poor of Munich expressed in so affecting a manner when I was dangerously ill?—that they went publicly in a body in procession to the Cathedral church where they had divine service performed and put up prayers for my recovery; that four years afterward on hearing that I was again dangerously ill at Naples, they, of their own accord, set apart an hour each evening after they had finished their work in the military workhouse, to pray for me, a private person, a Protestant!"

Here was a successful practical solution of the great problem of the redemption of the people of a christian city and state from poverty and its resultant crime and misery, worked out a century ago by a benign German prince and his enlightened American adviser. If the clergy of christendom since that day, had interested themselves in these great matters affecting the poor, as Jesus did while on earth, this noble example would not have been lost to the world for a hundred years; but it would by this time have been followed by every civilized state on earth, and poverty and consequent crime, and suffering, would to-day be practically put an end to in christendom.

#### V. OUR LAWS OUTGROWN.

Truly, Jesus interested himself in the affairs of the people among whom he walked. He even interfered to disperse a mob that had assembled to stone an erring woman to death. A dangerous experiment we would reckon it now, to try to break up a mob with the use of only kindly spoken words of reason as weapons, when regiments of national guards, armed with breech-loading rifles and Gatling guns, quail before their fury. But a word of genuine christian love and truth is mightier than an army with banners.

Why have we mob rule to-day in our country? The answer is: Our laws are outgrown. The gentle teachings of christianity have lifted the masses above the barbarism of the mediaeval laws that yet mar our statute books and disgrace our country and age.

Whittier says:

"Thank God that I have lived to see the time  
When the great truth at last begins to find  
At utterance from the deep heart of mankind,  
Earnest and clear, that all revenge is crime,  
That man is holier than a creed—that all  
Restraint upon him must consult his good,  
Hope's sunshine linger in his prison wall  
And love looks in upon his solitude.

The beautiful lesson which the Saviour taught  
Through long dark centuries its way hath  
wrought

Into the common mind and popular thought;  
And words to which by Galilee's lake shore  
The humble fishers listen with hushed ear,  
Have found an echo in the general heart  
And of the public faith become a living part.'

So that now when men are tried for crime the jury pities them, since the punishments are barbarous, of the past, of the dark ages, too cruel to be inflicted by a people with christian training, and the guilty are let go scot free, and ignorant, brutal mobs are left again to pelt them with stones, no Saviour being near to say, "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her." Nor do our laws yet step in and declare, "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

Let us have Christian and not Pagan laws, and they will be enforced. Let us have labor-reform schools for criminals, and let Sisters and Brothers of Mercy be allowed to go, as Elizabeth Fry went to Newgate, and labor among the fallen to lift them up, and juries will no longer hesitate to convict the guilty. Justice will be administered when Justice and Mercy walk hand in hand. Then there will be no longer occasion for mobs. They will disperse; for the voice of Jesus will touch their hearts and consciences who come to throw stones.

#### VI. SAVE THE OUTCASTS.

Of all the miserable beings on earth those are most to be pitied who, in the weakness of inexperienced youth, are led astray, and then cast out where there is no hope—*abandoned!* Accursed be that most hateful word! It ought to be expunged from the human vocabulary! It never ought to be uttered! Let it disappear with the going out of the nineteenth century, along with war, along with cruelty, along with barbarity. I

am commanded in my Bible that I love, and that I take as the rule and guide of my life, actions, sentiments and love of man and woman—I am commanded to love my neighbor as myself. I shall, therefore, feel toward my neighbor's child as towards my own. My own child I will never abandon, but will everlastingly cling to her with a tenacity superhuman; and I will never abandon any human being.

We must not condemn to despair the unfortunate daughters of sorrowing parents; but we must rescue them from misery—placing them in happy asylums, and pleasant schools, where when repentant, they may find hope—invite them to look joyfully upward, and forward to a happy future, they having buried their bad thoughts and bad actions so deep down underground that the loudest blast of Gabriel's trumpet will not resurrect them again as even shadowy remembrances. The united christian people of our country can proclaim glad freedom to the enslaved of sin, can provide pleasant homes and remunerative work for the repentant, can and will crystalize the Sermon of Jesus on the Mount in the laws and institutions of our beloved country, designed by providence to make free, by her example, the whole world, from the thrall-dom of kings, and from tyranny of all kinds—to emancipate labor—to set the imprisoned in the world's bastilles all at liberty, and to inaugurate the blissful reign of Jesus Christ on earth. She will

"Ring out old shapes of foul disease,  
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold,  
Ring out the thousand wars of old,  
Ring in the thousand years of peace."

"Ring in the valiant man and free,—  
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;  
Ring out the darkness of the land—  
Ring in the Christ that is to be."

### ESSAY XIV.—AFTER-THOUGHTS.

FROM MY PRIVATE JOURNAL.

#### I. A WORD OF PROTEST.

FRIDAY NOV. 11, 9 A. M., 1887.

Can Illinois in 1887 afford to repeat the folly of Virginia, in 1859, and Governor Oglesby the mistake of Governor Wise? As sure as it be done will history repeat itself. As John Brown became the saint and martyr of the cause of chattel slave emancipation, so will the men sacrificed on the gibbets to-day in Chicago, be finally enshrined in the hearts of mankind as saints and martyrs of the cause of wage-slave emancipation. O workmen, are ye dumb! O ye mighty labor unions of America, will ye

utter no word of protest against this horrible barbarity!

9 P. M.—The wire brought the sad, sad news at noon to-day. Four victims were offered a sacrifice on the altar of liberty. Happy men! Children of Immortality! Your names are now written indelibly on the same immortal scroll with those of Raleigh, Sidney, Vane, Emmett and John Brown! The patriot may well envy you your glorious lot; but he blushes for shame that his country has to answer for this barbarity—this fearful crime committed in the name of law, so near the close of the nineteenth century.

## II. "CONSPIRACY AGAINST SOCIETY."

SATURDAY, NOV. 12.

Is "Conspiracy against society" a new crime? No; it is a new name for an old, obsolete one. Our British ancestors would have called it "sedition," or "treason." Why is a new name given it now? Because, under our laws, there is no such crime as "sedition." The word is not found in the statute books of any state; and the Constitution of the United States, and that of each of the states, say: "Treason shall consist only in *levying war, or in adhering to the enemy, giving him aid and comfort.*" "No person," says the sacred instrument, the national constitution, "shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." This was plainly intended to prevent men from being subject to punishment, in this free country, under the American flag, for the obsolete crime of "sedition," or, as now defined, "Conspiracy against society." Sedition laws were passed by the Federalists during the administration of the elder Adams, it is true. But those laws were so contrary to the genius of our institutions—so abhorrent to the popular idea of liberty in that day—as to utterly kill and destroy forever the party that passed them, and turn the government over to the Anti-Federalists—the followers of Thomas Jefferson.

Has Federalism again raised its serpent head? Sedition laws have not been passed, it is true; but the corrupt courts have reached that dignity (or degradation rather), rendering the passage of "sedition laws," or any other laws, unnecessary. They have, at the bidding of monopoly, trampled under their dirty feet the Constitution of the United States and that of each and every state of the Union, and they have now become absolute dictators—the supreme arbiters of our liberties and our lives—destroying the safeguards of our government.

## III. THE PRESS BEFOGGED.

The *Iowa State Register*, in this morning's issue, voices the sentiment of the newspaper fraternity generally in an editorial article entitled "The Crime of Conspiracy." That great and influential western journal says: "The courts have rendered service to society and have strengthened their own position, in the attitude they have taken with regard to the crime of conspiracy. Fifty years ago such a thing as the execution of four men for conspiracy against society would have been unheard of, for the reason that crimes of that character were then uncommon. But with the growth of the age and the perils and dangers that come with increasing population and the dissemination of dangerous doc-

trines of the new socialistic and anarchistic creeds, the courts are compelled to adjust themselves to the changed condition of things. They take a step forward in protecting the rights of mankind, when they define conspiracy to commit murder, or to make war upon society, as criminal an offense as the commission of the act itself."

The author of the above paragraph is my personal friend, "faithful and just to me;" and though I would willingly sacrifice my right hand, or even my life itself if need be, in his personal defense, yet I will kindly criticise his opinions, expressed publicly in print in his great journal, with the same freedom of utterance and devotion to truth and liberty, and love for him personally, as I would wish him to make use of in reviewing my humble utterances. In doing so I would not violate the obligations of sacred friendship; but only discharge an imperative duty to my country, to humanity, and to the God of justice and righteousness.

"Fifty years ago the execution," (he correctly says,) "of four men for conspiracy against society would have been unheard of." Yes, indeed such a thing was unheard of in our country for more than a century until the eleventh day of Nov., 1887. "The dissemination of dangerous doctrines of those new socialistic and anarchistic creeds," my friend says, "have compelled the courts to adjust themselves in the changed condition of things." I thought always that courts had no alternative; but were bound by oath to follow a prescribed path, to interpret the laws according to their true meaning and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States. I thought, too, that we had got at least two hundred years past the time of being alarmed at, and punishing men for, the "dissemination of dangerous doctrines," since Roger Williams proclaimed in 1631 "The civil magistrate should punish guilt, but never control opinion;" since he proclaimed the "equality of opinions before the law." The more erroneous the opinions of our misguided Anarchist brethren, the more easy it will be (in the language of the articles of government of the Puritan Commonwealth of England, 1649) "to win them by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation."

But "now the courts take a step forward," my friend says, (backward five hundred years, I say) "in protecting the rights of mankind," he says, (in upholding the tyranny of monopolists, I say); "have rendered service to society," he says, (have destroyed our liberty, I say); "have strengthened their position," he says, (have committed *harikari*, I say). "Conspiracy to commit specific murder has always been considered by the courts (after the commission of the deed) as criminal as the act itself;" and

to hang men, (after the act of murder had been committed,) as *particeps criminis* for conspiracy, was more common fifty years ago than now, because capital punishment was then more common. But a *direct connection* had always to be proven, till now, between the conspiracy and the act of murder. This could not possibly be done in the case of the Chicago Anarchists before it was known who threw the bomb, before it was known whether it was thrown by an "Anarchist", or by a so-called "detective," or by a crazy person, like her who shot O'Donovan Rossa in New York, which is not known, "even unto this day."

#### IV. LET US REASON TOGETHER.

You may believe it right to kill men in war; but every man killed in war you would not like to believe yourself the murderer of, because of your opinions, as the Illinois judges have defined you legally to be. Some ultra patriot, like General Joseph Warren, or Patrick Henry of old, may believe it right to kill armed men, when they charge in platoons for the purpose of breaking up peaceable meetings of the people, as is done in Ireland, and as was done in Chicago May 4, 1886. And I will pause right here to remark that if it ever could be right to slay armed men (but I believe it is never right to willfully or avoidably take human life) it would be right under such circumstances. As a reasonable being I am logically compelled to admit that if it is right to "shoot him on the spot" who "hauls down the American Flag" (*vide* order of Gen. Dix, 1861,) it is right, yea, if possible, even *more than a right* to "shoot him on the spot," with dynamite bombs or any other deadly weapons, who would destroy the freedom of assembly and the freedom of speech in this or any other country, by force of arms. I speak now as an American voicing American ideas and sentiments; but, let the reader understand distinctly, not to endorse in the slightest degree any violent sentiments, either of Gen. Dix, or of the Anarchists, as my own personal views or feelings on the subject. I only appeal now for fair play for oppressed workmen—to Americans whose ancestors declared and believed as a religious tenet that "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God;" and who chose as the motto of the coat of arms, of the native state of Washington, Jefferson and Patrick Henry, the terrible sentiment—"Sic semper tyrannis"—which, as illustrated on the seal of Virginia, means "Death always to tyrants."

While the ultra patriot, for holding these venerable beliefs of his honored forefathers, would not, it is true, be liable to extradition and execution in Great Britain for murder, though polic-

men were killed in a diabolical attempt to break up a Land League meeting by force of arms at Kilkenny, Ireland (for the reason that even "castle" judges would not so decide); yet if policemen be killed in a diabolical attempt by force of arms to break up a peaceable meeting of workmen in Chicago, Illinois, he is liable to be hung here for so believing, because Illinois judges have thus falsely interpreted American law to mean.

I declare as logical, and I appeal for confirmation of the truth and fairness of the argument, to the candor of all students of American history and American law, that the policemen who charged upon the Haymarket meeting with arms in their tyrannous hands for the avowed purpose of breaking up the assembly, committed a greater crime against the laws of this country, and the spirit of our free institutions, according to the consecrated beliefs of our venerated forefathers, than did the man, (or woman, as the case may be), who threw the bomb—if not thrown by a "detective;" for, (leaving out of the question the idea that the person was crazy who threw it, or that it was thrown by a detective at the command of monopoly to bring odium on the worker's and end a great strike, as many believe it was) it was evidently thrown in defense of constitutional rights, menaced by armed men, in defence of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, and in obedience to the time-honored maxims of our Puritan ancestors, and of the Virginia buckskins, whom we are proud to call our "forefathers;" and hence it was as justifiable as the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill; yea, and exactly parallel to them, and may in the end, prove to be as important in its consequences to the future freedom of America, bringing us back to a consideration of first principles, and devotion to inalienable rights, that we had about lost sight of in our blasphemous worship of Mammon and our shameful subjection to his high priests.

I declare, also, and I appeal to the reason and candor of all thinking and conscientious men for their unqualified approval of the statement, as in accordance with truth and right, that when men arm, form in battle array and march with loaded guns in their hands upon a crowd of people, peaceably, and hence lawfully assembled, it would seem that they have come as soldiers expecting battle; for most men will fight for their just rights. If battle they meet, what have they to complain of? Have they not got what they came for? "He that taketh the sword shall perish by it," the Bible says, and I am not permitted to dispute the sacred text. Furthermore, I have no desire to dispute it, and I will not dispute it to bolster up accursed tyranny; hence I am not prepared to say that they have not reaped

the just reward of their rashness—"dying as the fool dieth" if policemen be killed in an armed endeavor to destroy popular liberty—in a diabolical effort to break up, by force of arms, free assemblies of the people whether they be Anarchists or Republicans, Germans or Americans, listening peaceably to public speeches, as the constitution and the laws of our country allow. Besides, who will mourn for them? No American patriot can be expected to do so, except in pity for the wives and little children of the slain, as our fathers must have mourned for the unfortunate British regulars killed at Lexington and Bunker Hill; nor are they worthy of even as much pity and regard as the slaughtered British red-coats were; for a policeman can resign his office at will, and he is not, therefore, compelled to serve against his conscientious scruples; while a private soldier in the army of England cannot help himself, but must obey the orders of his superiors.

#### V. POPULAR RIGHTS.

The reader may be surprised at such plain talk by me at this hour, when all freemen, seem dazed and (the enemy believes and exultantly proclaims) "cowed" by the hideous exhibition of a mediæval horror so near the close of the nineteenth century, in the great and peaceful valley of the west. But I shall (should occasion prompt), speak even more plainly still, as is the bounden duty of an American patriot to give expression to his true beliefs, when the liberties of his country are threatened, which now they are, as they have never before for a hundred years, been threatened.

If General Sickels, I contend, was justifiable (and the law sustained him) for shooting down, on the public streets of Washington, the seducer of his wife, the American citizen is doubly justifiable for shooting down on the public streets of Chicago, or any where else, the minions of capitalistic tyranny, who assail, by force of arms, public deliberative meetings legally assembled, as the Haymarket meeting was assailed by an armed band to be broken up and dispersed, contrary to the constitution of the American republic, and contrary to the constitutions of the thirty-nine states of the Union, and contrary to all the laws and traditions held sacred by sixty millions of people. We cannot be too jealous of our liberties. The breaking up of "Anarchist" meetings by force of arms, is only a prelude to the breaking up of Democrat and Republican deliberative meetings in the same way, and especially of Workingmen's meetings, when called to oppose the tyranny of capital, and to the utter extinction of popular liberty in the United States as a "military necessity."

#### VI. THE LIMITS OF POPULAR FORBEARANCE.

It cannot be too plainly stated nor too deeply impressed on the mad minds of the Anglo-American capitalists, that though the people of this country never bite unless they are very heavily trod upon, yet, when too harshly ground under the iron heels of tyranny, there has ever been a limitation to their patient endurance of unbearable wrong; and it might as well be said right here as any where else, for it must be distinctly declared, and heard by the enemy and heeded, that unwonted interference with the freedom of speech and of assembly marks the outmost bounds of that limitation! No insurance associations, knowing the American character, will take risks on the lives of policemen that attempt by force of arms to break up public deliberative meetings in the United States of America, under the stars and stripes. Such meetings cannot be legally "proclaimed," on this side of the Atlantic Ocean, by chiefs of police, mayors of cities, governors of states, or by the President of the United States himself; unless under martial law legally declared in the time of actual war. This the American people know. The rights of free speech and of free assembly will therefore be maintained at all hazards in time of peace; nor will the people be intimidated by any number of illegal executions of the friends of freedom for imaginary crimes, to acquiesce tamely in the destruction of their constitutional rights and liberties. The breaking up of public meetings by armed bands of policemen is actual war against the people, as clearly and positively war as existed at the time when the patriotic Virginia orator exclaimed, "every gale that sweeps from the north brings to our ears the clash of resounding arms;" and the officials who thus, by force of arms, interfere with the rights of free assembly and free speech to destroy them, do, most clearly, commit the overt act of treason.

The throwing of dynamite bombs into the armed ranks of policemen in the act of dispersing deliberate meetings peacefully conducted, would be as justifiable an act, I mean to say, as was the bloody resistance made by our fathers to British tyranny at Lexington, were there no hope of redress before the courts, or through the peaceful ballot; and if entire armed bands and battalions of the bloodhounds of corporate tyranny should be annihilated, on such occasions, by an outraged populace, as a last resort and means of defense of the rights of free assembly and free speech, it were no worse than the wholesale killing by our fathers of the two hundred and seventy-three dutiful British soldiers on their retreat from Concord and Lexington to Boston.

The transparent meaning of the judicial murders at Chicago, is, that whoever to-day declares his faith in the doctrines of the Declaration of American Independence of 1776 is liable to be hung for "conspiracy against society;" because "whenever," says that immortal instrument, "any form of government becomes destructive of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it is the right of the people, it is their duty, to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation in the consent of the governed." How abolish it? By force of arms, if compelled to do so as a last resort, as our fathers were? Whoever advocates this idea is now liable to be hung, I repeat, for the new crime of "conspiracy against society," and that, too, while Jefferson Davis (to the everlasting honor of the magnanimous American nation) still lives!

#### VII. THE SATRAPS OF GREED.

Must it be said—"we have no laws to-day—we have no republic?" What have we? Two hundred and fifty thousand well drilled national guards, and other thousands of well drilled mercenary "detectives" and policemen, standing with Gatling guns, rifles, revolvers and halters in their bloody hands, ready to execute the decrees of ermined tyrants, misnamed "judges," acting as the satraps of corporate greed. These are bounded on by newspaper editors, who vainly imagine that they "create public opinion," and that they can make the people applaud when chains and fetters are being riveted upon their ankles and wrists, and gibbets are being erected to hang them on, for exercising the blood-bought rights of free speech and free assembly, can make them rejoice at the fiendish strangling to death of liberty-loving men for the expression of honest opinions and beliefs, not known to be criminal for more than two hundred years in America, until defined as "conspiracy against society" by corporation-controlled judges months after the objectionable (to tyrants) utterances had been made—*ex post facto* decisions, creating law, barbarous law—unknown to our statutes, foreign to our constitutions, previously undefined by our courts and wholly subversive of our most sacred liberties—decisions that no judge, even in England, would ever have dared to make, except during the tyrannical reigns of Charles the First and James the Second. But King Charles, and other infamous tyrants of that period were beheaded by an indignant people for the crimes against liberty and law they had committed. No wonder (knowing this history and the fate of Jeffries) that the Illinois judge of the superior

court "turned pale and trembled" when announcing his tyrannical decree!

I believe that the recreant judges and the weak-minded Governor of Illinois (if the law of our country was strictly, fairly, honestly and correctly interpreted and enforced), would all be legally subject to the death penalty for treason and murder, they having committed the overt act of treason, by "levying actual war against the people," by taking the lives of men contrary to all known law, by destroying the safeguards of life and liberty, by breaking down the bulwarks of common justice, by overthrowing the freedom of speech and of the press, by taking from us, annihilating at one fell stroke of tyranny, all that the fathers gave us that is worth the preserving. What is the Union worth without liberty? It is worth nothing. In the illuminated mind of the great Webster "liberty and Union" are bound fast together "now and forever one and inseparable."

If I sanctioned the mad action of those detestable judges, and of that imbecile Governor of Illinois, I would not dare to look out of doors at night, lest I behold the ghosts of Warren, Lincoln and John Brown shaking at me their gory locks and shrieking in my ears, "Thou did'st it." My heart and my mind, instructed by a devoted and careful study, for over forty years, of my country's history, both tell me that the firing on Fort Sumter pales in importance before that mad deed, which is awakening millions of earnest men and earnest women to profoundest thought. From this day on there will be but two parties in our country—Sons and Daughters of Liberty and infamous Tories—the defenders of inalienable rights and the enemies of popular liberty, as of old.

I abhor alike the violent doctrines of the German Anarchists and of the advocates of coercion, and war, and with as deep an abhorrence, I may truly say, as our ancestors in Great Britain did the opposing creeds of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, when they burnt each other alternately as each faction got the power, in hecatombs at the stake—as our Puritan Fathers, in New England, did the doctrines of the Quakers, when they cut off their ears and executed them on the gallows on Boston Common; but I am a disciple of Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore and William Penn; I believe in the toleration of opinions and beliefs, religious and political; and (as our fathers have stated it, in the Constitution of the United States) I would condemn men for deeds only, and not for words, "on the testimony of at least two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court;" and for no offence whatever would I sanction the death penalty.

## VIII. TIME TO CALL A HALT.

JANUARY, 17, 1889.

The police of Chicago (warranted in doing so, they supposed, by the rulings of the Illinois courts condemning to death for "conspiracy against society," i. e. for so-called "Anarchist opinions," the Hay Market quaternian of martyrs), finally reached a point in their mad career of tyranny and disregard of popular rights, where, in order that the last spark of liberty might not be extinguished in that corporation-controlled city, it became necessary for the judge of the court to call a halt. As a specimen of police anarchy, yea, of downright insanity, I clip the following from an Associated Press dispatch dated Chicago, Ill., Dec. 9, 1888.

The dispatch says: "Police Chief Hubbard issued an order holding nearly all the city police of 1500 men in reserve at various stations ready to be called at any moment. When asked what he purposed to do, Chief Hubbard said: 'We positively will not allow any more Anarchist meetings. I am making a full list of all saloons where Anarchists congregate, and will recommend the mayor that licenses be revoked. There will be no tampering, nor any hesitancy from this time out. Any Anarchist meeting will be broken up and prevented. I do not think they want to fight very badly; but if they do they can have all they want.' In the afternoon Chief Hubbard summoned the proprietors of Greef's Hall at 54 West Lake street, and those at 600 Blue Island avenue. The Chief told them emphatically that they must allow no further meetings of Anarchists in their halls. The proprietors commenced to argue that the meetings were peaceable, but were interrupted by the Chief, with the intimation that he would not argue that question. Whether the meetings were peaceable or not made no difference. They were held for the dissemination of lawless and incendiary ideas and must be abolished."

An Anarchist Bund (society) appealed to the court for redress. Judge Tuley spoke in the same voice as that which resounded more than a century ago in the halls of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, when Patrick Henry uttered his immortal plea for liberty. He spoke in the same patriotic tones as did the ancient Tully when he thundered on the Roman Forum against Mark Antony. I trust that his words may not, like those of the Roman patriot, be the last grand protest against tyranny, precedent to the downfall of the republic, the agonizing wail of expiring liberty; but, rather like those of Patrick Henry, the presage of a new birth of freedom. I heard Governor Larrabee declare to-day in a speech before a convention of Iowa jobbers, in the capitol at Des

Moines: "Railroad men have been accustomed to obey only such laws as they found convenient to obey."

Here is anarchism, and the only anarchism we have any reason to fear. It is the Corporation Anarchists who have been setting bloodhounds on the track of the friends of popular liberty for years. It is Corporation Anarchists that the police force of Chicago serve, and in whose interest they have attempted to destroy popular liberty—depriving the people of the right of free speech and peaceable assembly—a blood-bought right.

Judge Tuley states the case in the following words. He says: "I find no reason to differ from the Master in Chancery in his conclusion that the evidence adduced fails to show that the proposed assemblage was for an unlawful purpose, because of the condition of the membership that 'only persons of reputable character, who declare for the abolition of the inhuman wage system, can become members.' The solicitor is in error in the supposition that the law upholds or demands any particular system of carrying on industrial enterprises. The Master reports that there was no evidence to show the meaning of the declaration that the society favors the abolition of the capitalistic system of exploitation nor of the purpose 'to assist in the fight against exploitation.' The word 'exploitation' is a French word for which we have no precise equivalent. I understand the object intended is opposition to the present system of using capital. That is to say, capital shall be so used that labor will receive a greater share of the combined earnings of labor and capital than at present, and that capital shall not be used so as to oppress the people by combinations and monopolies. I may be mistaken in my interpretation, but whatever may be the meaning, the object is to be accomplished by the enlightenment and education of the masses. I find no law which prohibits the formation of societies for such a purpose. The members of the society may seek to disseminate views or principles which in the opinion of the great majority of our citizens are detrimental to the rights of property and the public welfare, but they have the right to publicly meet and discuss them in a quiet and peaceable manner, and make converts to their views if they are able to do so. The question of the relations of capital and labor, in its varied phases, and many others, like the question of the right to exclusive individual ownership of the land, or the single tax theory, are the burning questions of the hour that have come to stay and must be met."

After hearing both sides of the case and probing the question to the bottom, what does the judge discover? He discovers that the object of the Anarchist

societies is to "assist in the fight against exploitation;" which he defines to be "opposition to the present system of using capital, that is to say, capital shall be so used that labor shall receive a greater share of the combined earnings of labor and capital than at present, and that capital shall not be used so as to oppress the people by combinations and monopolies."

These, then, are the "lawless and incendiary ideas" that police chief Hubbard attempted with 1500 armed policemen to "suppress." "I do not think they want to fight very badly," said the chief, who was, it appears, himself "spoiling for a fight." "If they do," he boastingly remarks, "they can have all they want." It is a pity that Judge Tuley has defeated police chief Hubbard's well matured plans for *provoking a riot*. Couldn't some detective, to revive the waning hopes of Monopoly, plant a dynamite bomb, or two, somewhere again? But Judge Tuley has caused the Anarchist scare to collapse as did the Salem witch scare, more than two hundred years ago, and the planting of dynamite bombs by detectives, as a means of bringing odium on workingmen and sending them to the penitentiary, or to execution, has ceased to be practicable, either against German Anarchists or members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Some other plan for "manufacturing public sentiment" will have to be studied out by the astute railroad attorneys, assisted by "detectives."

He says further: "It was argued that the Constitution (of the Bund) shows on the face the unlawful purpose, because of the condition of the membership that 'only persons of reputable character who declare for the abolition of the inhuman wage system can become members.' Such, according to Judge Tuley, is that terrible "Anarchist" heresy! "It aims at the abolition of the inhuman wage system!" But how would it "abolish" that inhuman system? Fearful to tell! "*The object is to be accomplished by the enlightenment and education of the masses!*" Such a course as this will be fatal to the tyranny of monopolists! And, says the Judge, "I find no law which prohibits the formation of societies for that purpose." What is still worse for the tyrants. "The Solicitor," the Judge continues, "is in error in the supposition that the law upholds or demands any particular system of carrying on industrial enterprises." So the wage system is I trust, destined to pass away without so great a jar as did the chattel slave system.

The press dispatch further says: "Judge Tuley then takes up the claim on behalf of the police, that they had a right to prevent a meeting, thereby preventing crime, and holds that their power cannot be given such latitude; that if the police, at their discretion, do

what they think will prevent what may, in their judgment, result in crime, legislatures, courts, or governmental officers would be entirely superfluous. I am astounded to find that at this day (in this free country)," continues Judge Tuley, "it should be urged by affidavit and arguments in a court of justice, that a police official can forbid the meeting of a society, or a public meeting, because of his belief that this society is a treasonable one and its members are about to commit treasonable acts. If this be law, then every political, literary, religious, or other society, would hold their constitutional right of free speech and peaceable assembly at the mercy of every petty policeman. In no other city in the Union except here in Chicago, have the police officials attempted to prevent the right of free speech or peaceable assembly upon such unwarranted pretences and assumptions of power. It is time to call a halt. The right of free speech and peaceable assembly is the very life blood of freedom. You might as well expect the human body to exist after every drop of blood has been suspended as to expect continued existence of liberty, the citizen being deprived of the right of free speech and peaceable assembly."

There is nothing more true than the fact that the common people never largely embrace any "ism," political or religious, that is not possessed of some good points; and there is nothing more true than that what Judge Tuley defines as "Anarchism," (Socialism divested of its John Brown methods of propagandism,) is a doctrine that merits the candid investigation of every patriotic American, though, like christianity itself, it comes to us from the old world.

Wendell Phillips (I quote from memory) said in his great Phi Beta Kappa oration, that if he were a Russian living in Russia, he would be a Nihilist, if a German residing in Germany he would be an Anarchist, if a Frenchman domiciled in France, he would be a Communist, if an Irishman dwelling in Ireland, he would be an ultra Fenian—a Michael Davitt. He explains those "isms" to be only the varied forms democracy has been forced to assume by the varied surroundings. What American, I ask, does not sympathize with the Irish in their struggles for liberty in Ireland? And how were the explosions of dynamite that shattered the House of Commons and the Tower of London heard by patriotic Americans!

Circumstances alter cases. Boston saw, delighted, the ship loads of tea thrown overboard in her harbor—saw, with complacency the destruction of Mr. Oliver's house and furniture, and of the house and furniture of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson—"who," says the historian, "after attempting resistance was constrained to depart to save his life. By four in the morning one of the

best houses in the province was completely in ruins—nothing remaining but the bare walls and floors. The plate, family pictures, most of the furniture and wearing apparel, about nine hundred pounds sterling, and manuscripts and books, which Mr. Hutchinson had been thirty years collecting, besides many public papers in his custody, were either carried off or destroyed.”

Let tyrants beware!

#### IX. THE UNCERTAIN TENURE OF CITIZENSHIP.

DECEMBER 6, 1889

Judge Anderson of the Federal Court has lately given a very remarkable decision, rendering American citizenship of uncertain tenure. Citizenship, according to his ruling, may be annulled or prevented by the arbitrary ukase of courts on account of religious or political opinions, and without the commission of any criminal act known to our laws.

The *Iowa State Register* of Dec. 5, 1889, directs the attention of its readers to this extraordinary assumption of judicial power. In an editorial article it says: “Judge Anderson, in his recent Mormon decision, has laid down a very important principle regarding citizenship.” \* \* \* “When it denies citizenship to aliens or natives who have taken that (endowment) oath, it takes the most effective means to get that (Mormonism) out of the way.”

“The same line of argument which Judge Anderson pursued in this case can properly be used against the socialists, anarchists and other enemies of American institutions.”

What are Judge Anderson's rulings that may have so extended an application? The following is the gist of his argument. The Judge says: “The evidence in this case establishes unquestionably that the teachings, practices and purposes of the Mormon Church are antagonistic to the government of the United States, utterly subversive of good morals and the well-being of society, and that its members are animated by a feeling of hostility toward the government and its laws.”

Let us for a moment examine this reasoning of the learned (?) United States Judge with the microscope of common sense. If such ruling had prevailed forty years ago that “because,” in the opinion of a court, “the teachings and practices” of church, secret society or political party are “antagonistic to the government of the United States, utterly subversive of good morals and the well-being of society, and that its members are (in the opinion of the court) animated by a feeling of hostility toward the government and its laws”—though no statute exists propounding any punishment whatever for opinion, and though treason itself con-

sists not in any opinion or intention, but in actual war *begun* by firing upon a fort, or by giving aid and comfort to the enemy in arms—if this ruling, I say, had prevailed forty years ago, that a judge of a Federal court may declare an American voter no longer a citizen of the United States, and may prevent foreign emigrants becoming citizens for such cause, who might take the naturalization oath and comply with the laws in every other respect, then all the old-time Abolitionists would have been deprived of American citizenship by the pro-slavery judges who dominated the courts of old, and all “Abolition” emigrants would have been deprived of the right of becoming American citizens.

The Abolitionists declared the Constitution of the United States a “covenant with death and a league with hell.” But the people of our country then had at least a nominal legal right of free speech and free thought, being accountable only to mobs, who pelted the Abolitionists with rotten eggs, murdered them and threw their printing presses into the rivers. Courts were the obedient tools of the slave power of the South in that day, as they are, in this day, of the money power of the East; and they would then go to any conceivable length of tyranny and usurpation to help the chattel slave-drivers, as they do now to help the wage slave drivers. But Judge Anderson's ruling is a discovery of the year 1889, and was not hit upon in time to help chattel slavery. What would Wendell Phillips say of that decision were he living now?

Once standing in Faneuil Hall addressing an indignation meeting of the friends of freedom, after a fugitive slave had been arrested in Boston, and the courts had ordered his return to bondage, the great orator and fearless patriot said:

“I see upon the wall of this ancient temple of liberty the inscription, ‘God bless the commonwealth of Massachusetts!’ I say, God *damn* the commonwealth of Massachusetts!”

Massachusetts, and the whole North and South, atoned for the grievous sin of chattel slavery by the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of Columbia's bravest sons on hundreds of battlefields and in camp and hospital. I utter no anathema; but I do sincerely pray God to save my country; for I see her liberties overthrown by the judiciary, who create new crimes and affix heaviest penalties, without warrant of law or precedent of courts—unless for precedent we go back two hundred and fifty years in British jurisprudence to the time of Charles I and the Star Chamber practice.

In 1860, every man voting for Abraham Lincoln would, doubtless, have been deprived of American citizenship, if the pro-slavery judges had been as unscrupulous and audacious as Judge Anderson now is; and thus the North

would have been forced to "rebel," and the South would have "fought for the Constitution" under the stars and stripes.

When anti-Masonry was so rampant, after the disappearance of Morgan, all Free Masons of our country, and all of that fraternity emigrating here, would have been deprived of citizenship by anti-Mason courts, had they made the preposterous ruling Judge Anderson has made.

A bench of "Know Nothing" judges, ruling as Judge Anderson has ruled, would have made a clean sweep of Roman Catholics in our politics, by depriving them of citizenship; and by cutting off all Catholic emigrants from the privilege of becoming citizens of the United States.

And now that the Republican party has full control of the national government, it is an opportune time for it to get the full benefit of Judge Anderson's decision by "extending" its application to the Democratic party. Whichever party held the reins could, by a "court decision" like Judge Anderson's, disfranchise the members of all the opposing parties by declaring them "animated by feelings of hostility to the government and its laws," etc., etc., and depriving them of citizenship.

It will require no great amount of "evidence" to convince an ultra partizan judge, of the 8 to 7 sort, that the "teachings, practices and purposes" of the members of the opposing parties are "antagonistic to the government of the United States (as administered by their own "loyal" party), utterly subversive of good morals and the well-being of society, and its members animated by a feeling of hostility toward the government and its laws," (as carried out by the officials of the party in power); hence, to be logical, as well as loyal, they must disfranchise those of the opposition, to the last man, and all foreigners who purpose joining the opposing parties, by depriving them of American citizenship. And this sort of judicial usurpation and tyranny will go on until the people become aroused from sleep.\* There is a deep design in it; and that design clearly is to disfranchise the producers, force on the people a civil war in which the Anglo-American plutocrats will be the "government," controlling the destructive engines of war, and the toilers of our

country "rebels," to be shot down like dogs by armed bands of mercenary butchers of human beings. The end aimed at by the plutocratic conspirators is the destruction of democratic liberty and the permanent establishment of British syndicate rule in its stead—an oligarchical tyranny—the complete enthronement of the money power and the abject enslavement of the toiling millions of our countrymen, for all time to come.

How stupid Presidents Johnson and Grant and the Congress of the United States, at the close of the war, seem to have been (when is turned on them the electric light of Judge Anderson's decision), in not leaving reconstruction to the courts, to settle; which they might have done by depriving all the ex-Confederates of the right of American citizenship, under a ruling like Judge Anderson's, for it is clear that the Confederates were "animated by a spirit of hostility to the government and its laws;" and the ex-Confederates would doubtless have continued to be, to this day, so animated, under such tyrannical treatment as that. A "commission," like the Utah commission, appointed by the President of the United States, could have made "rules" (laws) for the "reconstructed South," rendering legislatures superfluous, and thus simplifying government materially in the interest of the plutocracy of the East, making the enfranchisement of the blacks, as well as the suffrage of the whites, unnecessary—a convenient (to tyrants) "republican form of government," forsooth, to "assure" to a state, or even to a city, (viz, Washington), or to a territory, (viz, Utah)—an abrogation of the most essential of American rights, won a hundred years ago by the blood of our Revolutionary fathers, and proclaimed by them in the Declaration of Independence as the birthright of all men—the rule of the people.

It looks very much as if the object of Mormon persecution by the courts and a commission were (1) to establish precedents, destructive of popular liberty, and (2) to rob the Mormon people of their homes and their lands in the interest of syndicates of eastern capitalists, whose agents swarm over Deseret like bees—so-called "Gentiles," whose only object is robbery.

If the government has any regard for public morality, why does it not abolish the thousands of drinking and gambling hells and dens of prostitution of Washington City? It has a "commission" there, and the law-makers, honorable judges of the supreme court, president and cabinet, are right there on the ground to see and behold with their own eyes the saloons and gambling hells; and many of them may, possibly, have heard, too, of the existence there also of houses of prostitution and "French Hotels,"

APRIL 28, 1890.

\* While Ireland is clamoring for "Home Rule" the American states are deprived of that sacred inheritance, by the "rulings" of the United States supreme court. While the nations of the earth are about to unite for the protection of Africa against the rum trade, as they are united to protect her against the slave trade, the Federal supreme court intervenes to enforce the rum traffic upon unwilling states of the American Union. A new "Dred Scott decision" is promulgated by it, the court standing again, as of old, a stumbling block in the way of social progress.

i. e., houses of assignation. Washington City is deprived of every right of self-government and self-protection, and congress and the president are wholly responsible for the existence of its numberless hells of infamy, "utterly subversive of good morals and the well being of society." Let those hideous dens of vice be, in the name of decency, suppressed! Then, Uncle Sam, having removed the "beam from his own eye," can better see to get the "mote" out of his polygamous Mormon brother's eye.

American liberty is made a holocaust of as the outcome of pretended attempts of, contemptible courts to put down Mormonism, Socialism and Anarchism by "rulings"—contemptible, when they would destroy human rights; because those rights are more sacred than all other earthly things. Behind those pretences is the sinister purpose, plainly discernable, of establishing precedents that annul freedom of opinion, of speech, of assembly, of the press, and the rights of citizenship in the interest of the Anglo-American money power; while a care for the "public morals" is not entertained or contemplated by them; but only a diabolical purpose is kept constantly in view to destroy popular liberty. It is plainly manifest that the same infamous "rulings" will soon be extended to Trades Unions, Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliances, the Wheel, and to every other organization, religious and political, antagonistic to plutocratic domination—the culmination of a gigantic conspiracy of foreign money lenders, and their agents here, to destroy our democratic government, so that the American producers may continue everlastingly prostrated, as they now are, before the Juggernaut of the money power of the Old World.

History, 'tis said, repeats itself. Our present congress, if the recommendations of the chief magistrate be carried out and crystalized into law, will re-enact the "Alien and Sedition Laws" of 1798. The old "Alien Law" denied domicile to foreigners and sent them out of the country; and the old "Sedition Law" inflicted fines and imprisonments for freedom of speech and of the press, aimed nominally at the Jacobins from Revolutionary France, who flocked to our shores to (it was said) "stir up sedition"—as the Socialists and Anarchists from Germany come here now to (it is said) "defy our laws."

President Harrison gives the following significant advice to congress in his late message. He says: "Our naturalization laws should be so revised as to make the inquiring into the character and good disposition toward our government of the person applying for citizenship, more thorough." And again: "Those who are the enemies of social order, who come to our shores to swell the injurious influence and to extend the

evil practices of any association that defies our laws, should not only be denied citizenship, but a domicile."

Of course, the "character and good disposition toward our government" of every foreign emigrant, holding a different political creed from that of the partizans that might chance to be in power at the time of his landing at Castle Garden, would hardly "pass muster;" and the emigrant would, therefore, "not only be denied citizenship, but domicile."

"Straws show which way the wind blows," and "Coming events cast their shadows before."

This utterance put forth by President Harrison at about the same time that Judge Anderson rendered his "anti-Mormon" decision, was not accidental. There will shortly follow a general movement to disfranchise all the toilers whose political opinions may not be in accord with the opinions of the Anglo-American usurers, who control the dominant political parties, and whose tools our officials are, unless the people become alarmed, as they did after the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws, nearly a century ago, and give, as they did then, an emphatic veto, at the ballot box, of this threatened destruction of popular rights.

The first bill introduced into the 51st congress is the senate bill against trusts. I share only a common belief when I express my doubts whether any measure Mr. Sherman may introduce will prove beneficial to the producers. So sadly did he blunder, as a financier, so little did he seem to understand of the true principles of political economy, in bringing our finance to a gold basis, as to lead a distinguished English writer, Mr. Daniel Watney, to say: "I cannot suppose that everybody is wise. Just think of the folly of the United States, when they were a debtor nation, in adopting a gold standard. They knew nothing about currency matters; they did not know that it was going to increase their debt enormously."

If Mr. Sherman's anti-trust bill become a law will it not prove a delusion and a snare? Will it not be construed by the courts (dominated by the same plutocratic power that rules the senate) to apply to workingmen when they combine to raise wages, or to shorten the hours of toil?

Ever since Andrew Johnson retired from the presidency, to the present time, the government of our country has been controlled by the money lenders, with headquarters in Wall Street, New York, and Lombard Street, London. The appointment of judges, and the administration of the laws, have been dictated by them. The great party leaders, the judiciary and the metropolitan party press have been obedient to their voice. The welfare of the American producers has not been considered, but it has been

basely sacrificed in the making, in the interpretation, and in the execution of the laws.

Benjamin Harrison was elected president on the pledge of "protection of American labor," which the workers were assured by the Republican party platforms, press and speakers, meant the PROTECTION OF THE LABORERS. If President Harrison's administration prove not more patriotic and satisfactory to the producers and laborers of America than the administrations of the other chief magistrates (not excepting any), for twenty years past, have proved, and the "lucious fruits" promised the farmers and laborers are found to be "Sodom Apples" that turn to ashes in their mouths, then will the great army of producers and laborers despair of relief through the agency of the "old parties;" and the mighty Labor Unions, Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliances, Wheel and the Silver Producers' Combinations will unite as one,

and form a National Anti-Monopoly Political Party (God speed the day!!) to control our country's future. The capital of the United States will be removed to St. Louis; the federal senate will become elective directly by the people; the dominant powers (syndicates) east of the Alleghamies and beyond the Atlantic, that have so long ruled and ruined America, will be dethroned forever; old party leaders retired; young men, alive to the needs of the present time, and true to American interests and rights, will bear aloft the starry flag; THE GREAT WEST WILL RULE; agriculture and manufacturing will become profitable; money lending and bond owning unprofitable; an American monetary system will prevail; the umbilical cord uniting the United States and "Mother England" will be at last cut, and Columbia will be born to freedom; while the dying words of John Adams "INDEPENDENCE FOREVER" will become the national motto.

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## TO MY COMRADES OF THE G. A. R.

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ESPECIALLY ADDRESSED TO COMRADES D. B. MOTT, JOHN G. BLAIR, W. W. PHILLIPS, D. C. BISHARD, V. P. TWOMBLY, J. H. COON, J. C. PAINTER, W. D. CHRISTY AND T. L. DYER.

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They are gone—the men of daring, who the British hosts defied,  
And who marched elate from Yorktown, they have laid their arms aside;  
By their toil they won our freedom, with their blood baptized the state.  
And their patriotic actions we have tried to emulate.

We unfurled the sky-born ensign when we heard the rebel guns—  
Thousands died to save that standard—freedom's lion-hearted sons—  
High above the clouds we placed it, and the "good old cause" maintained,  
Freedom, Union, Independence,—these lost blessings we regained.

Our frail bodies soon must perish, soon commingle with the soil.  
We relinquish to the living but the memory of our toil;—  
May that memory be sufficient to inspire our noble sons  
To be watchful, faithful, trustful, standing bravely by their guns.

Be they patriots ever ready, when the foe shall come in sight,  
To give warning, meet the danger, die if need be, for the right;

Be to us the name of "comrade," sacred name—a name to bless,  
And our doors swing always open to the veteran in distress.

Ah, the links that bound the soldiers (fighting for their country's weal)  
Each to each in time of danger, friendship, love, bright links of steel,  
These shall still remain unbroken, e'en beyond the stream of time,  
Though we wade through Lethe river ere we reach the sunny clime!

And we do not cherish hatred, but extend our love to those  
Who laid down their arms,—“surrendered,”—our brave countrymen—not “foes”—  
With our “Charity an ocean, with “Fraternity” as broad—  
For Columbia reunited, give we grateful thanks to God.

We will still continue greetings in the friendly Army Post  
While remain a dozen veterans of the glorious Union host  
We will keep the camp-fires burning, keep old friendships still ablaze  
And the patriotic fervor bright as in the darkest days.

Dec. 25, 1885.

## DIVISION THE SECOND.

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### INTO FREEDOM.

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"Is not money an imaginary wealth? Its value is wholly in law. Where is that which it has from Nature? If the opinion that admits it into circulation changes, where is its real value? What necessity of life could it relieve?—ARISTOTLE.

"Nothing produces more intense suffering than a decrease in the amount of money. To decrease the amount of money, raises the value of every debt and adds to the burden of every debtor. It increases the value of notes, mortgages and bonds. It enriches the few at the expense of the many. Even if the amount remains stationary, the creditors are enriched at the expense of the debtors. When arbitrarily the amount of money is decreased it amounts to virtual robbery of the debtor classes.—*Chatauqua Text Book of Political Economy*.—DR. ELY.

"Two thousand capitalists own more than all the rest of the sixty-five millions of our population. Two hundred and fifty thousand rich men control seventy-five per cent of the national wealth. The American republic is therefore practically owned by less than one quarter of a million of persons. If present causes, which produce concentration of capital continue, the republic will soon be owned by less than fifty thousand men."—REV. JOSEPH COOK.

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## DEDICATION OF DIVISION THE SECOND.

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TO HON. LELAND STANFORD, OF CALIFORNIA.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your magnanimous patriotism has won for you the undying gratitude of the producers of America—bound hands and feet in chains to the money power of the Old World. You have spoken the word that will give freedom to the enslaved millions the world over. I thank you for it. That word marks the end of the reign of the Rothschilds here. British money lords have too long dominated our Congress. You have brought their domination to a close. The producers of our country will now again have attention in our halls of legislation. The President will lend an ear to their petitions. The Great West will speak and be heard at Washington. The false statesmen that have so long betrayed western interests—that have continued so long the willing (and I think the paid) agents of Wall Street and Lombard Street, will be, like their great prototype, Satan,

"Hurled headlong \* \* \*  
With hideous ruin and combustion, down  
To bottomless perdition."

Yours truly,

LEONARD BROWN.

## ESSAY XV.—THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

(AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. CONGER.)

### I. THE BETRAYAL OF THE MANY.

HON. E. H. CONGER,—*My Friend*: I purpose speaking to you, a representative of the people in the Congress of the United States, from the geographical center (almost) of the Mississippi Valley—I purpose speaking to you plainly on behalf of the farmers of the great west and south. They have been bankrupted by the financial policy of our government. Contraction of the currency is

"The dagger that stabbed Cæsar."

It has emptied the veins of our prosperity. Western statesmen have done the stabbing at the bidding of the money power of the east. A money famine, brought on over twenty years ago, by the defection from the people of the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana, and further intensified by that of the Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, and prolonged down to the present hour by the continued betrayal of the many by our political leaders—not a "seven years," but a twenty years famine—the result of the most gigantic conspiracy, grounded on venality, corruption and treachery, that history will ever record, exceeding in baseness the sale of the freedom of Ireland a century ago, when her independence was bartered away by Irish traitors for British gold, is the cause of the ruin of the agriculturists of the Mississippi Valley. Posterity will be amazed at the array of great names that the historian will set down as having, like Demosthenese, "accepted the golden bowl." The great west has been betrayed by the men she had trusted. It were better for them had a millstone been tied to their necks and they thrown into the sea—and far better for our country. The crime of Maximilian, of Mexico, for which, with face turned to the wall, he was ignominiously shot to death by bullets in his back, was a virtue compared with the crime committed by western "credit mobilier" statesmen, who have been "won over to British interests by bribes of British gold." Who they are is well known. Hence, for me to name them would be a waste of words. The time of their utter execration by the American people is not afar off; and the contempt of mankind, yea, the loathing of posterity for their treachery will become more and more intense as the centuries go by.

A committee appointed by Congress

to report upon the land and finance questions, if it would declare correctly the situation, would say that "we are on the eve of a change of ownership of the land from that by the many to the system prevalent in Ireland—that our present system of finance<sup>a</sup> is incompatible with the many owning land, or their owning any other kind of property whatever, and only compatible with a condition of enslavement of the American people to the British gold owners: it being the same system that has resulted in transferring the wealth of India from the possession of the native owners into the hands of the British invaders, and that it was imposed upon America, not by the sword as upon India, but by the corruption of our leaders who for bribes bartered away their country's freedom, wealth and independence—basely surrendering back to Great Britain all the fathers had won in the war of the Revolution."

### II. THE CONTRACTION DEADFALL\*.

When the war closed twenty-five millions of northern people had in hand about eighteen thousand million dollars of a circulating medium. The producers were never more prosperous. Times were good because "money was plenty" and crops fair. The south restored to

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the Union, adding fifteen millions of agriculturists, destitute of money, among whom our currency must also be distributed; and the Union soldiers returning to civil life to receive higher wages than they were paid in the army, or to engage in business demanding capital, it would certainly have been in accord with the dictates of common sense for government to increase the amount of our money to meet this increased demand—if the prosperity of the people was desired. But the prosperity of the people was not then, and never has been since, desired by the great chiefs at Washington. Our leaders were not fools. But too many of them were, and are, knaves. We know and judge them by their acts, by what they did and do. Columbia, unfortunately, "fell among thieves." More than one-half of our currency was funded into interest-bearing bonds; and, with an increasing population that from not over forty millions in 1865, counts nearly sixty-five millions in 1890, our currency does not reach (actually in the channels of business), beyond one-half the amount we had stimulating the industry of only twenty-five millions of people in the north at the time of the surrender of Lee. Much that the treasury books show of "currency now afloat" does not in fact exist; for it has been, in many ways, consumed. The three thousand national banks hold many millions of "reserve"—much has been hoarded and much destroyed by fire and flood and through innumerable other leaks has our money disappeared, until to-day not over five hundred millions of dollars are left in the channels of business and trade in the United States—not more than seven dollars per capita, when there were over seventy dollars of money afloat per capita among the twenty-five millions of northern people in 1865.\* This is the same presentation of the case as that made by General Weaver and others time and again in congressional speeches, and our congressmen have, none of them, been ignorant of its truth.

The machinations of the enemy (the British gold owners) may be seen plainly

\*The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Windom claims, in a late article communicated by him to the metropolitan press, that there is, according to the treasury books, twenty-two dollars for each of the sixty-five millions of our population, of currency afloat now (May 1890), equal to one million four hundred and thirty millions of money (\$1,430,000). How much of this has been lost and consumed by fire and water, how much hoarded, how much held in "reserve" in the banks, how much "retired" and how much congested in eastern money centers is not given by him. Little money is circulating in the channels of trade and business west of the Alleghenies—not, (it is safe to say,) as much as seven dollars per capita. But it is all controlled by the national banking "trust" and the people are "taxed without their consent" by the bankers, ad libitum. This evil can only be cured by such a monetary system as that proposed by senator Stanford of California.

in the way silver was demonetized in 1873. President Grant said he did not know that the clause demonetizing silver was in the finance bill when he signed it; and western congressmen made haste to plead that they, too, were ignorant of the fact when they voted for the bill. The House passed a bill almost unanimously to remonetize silver and re-establish its free and unlimited coinage. But our plutocratic Senate would only yield to the extent of permitting the purchase of silver bullion by the Secretary of the Treasury and the coinage of from two millions to four millions legal tender silver dollars monthly. But no Secretary of the Treasury has had the patriotism to disobey the commands of the British gold owners and their agents, the national bankers, and obey the voice of the American people since and coin more than the minimum required by direct mandate of law—two millions monthly, which shows plainly that he would not coin a dollar of silver if not compulsory. The great Anglo-American banking trust, that has our government clutched tightly by the throat, have, in collusion with their agents, the Secretaries of the United States Treasury—prohibited its distribution, and thus they have nullified the law, grudgingly passed by the Senate as the least that would appease the suffering people—hence most of our silver coin still remains stored in the treasury vaults at Washington. That law would not have been passed had not the bankers possessed the power to nullify it, so completely is the Senate controlled by them. If this condition of things is permanently fixed, the United States government has forever ceased to be a republic and is become an oligarchy of money lenders. To be sure the people will never regain control without a tremendous struggle, the like of which has not been known in our history.

### III. THE ANTIQUITY OF SILVER MONEY.

By common consent of mankind from the days of Abraham to the present age silver coin, and silver by weight, have been money. To owe money and pay standard silver coin, or by weight, give so many "shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," has always been considered "honest." And until 1873 coined silver was always money equal with coined gold in our country, and the Constitution of the United States places it on the same plane with gold. Mexican dollars were legal tender here up to near the beginning of the civil war. Why was silver demonetized, and why is its free coinage prevented? Talk of the "Latin Union" and the "demonetization of silver" in Europe—and what does it mean? It means that a money power exists in Europe stronger than all governments there, and upon

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dollars, and silver will pour into our country from Mexico, South America and Europe, and soon money will be as plentiful as in war times.

But who must pay for this nominal rise in the value of silver? I say nominal, for it is only apparent and not real, being measured by the "yard-stick" (gold) of "uncertain length." Not one cent of this seeming rise in the value of silver comes off the producers. Only the wine that was poured from the silver pitcher into the gold pitcher will be poured back from the gold pitcher into the silver pitcher again. The increase of value of silver caused by its free coinage will indicate a common increase in the price of commodity—the first wave that precedes the rise of the Nile. It will be followed by the inundation bringing plenty and prosperity to all; quadrupling the number of hog, cattle and grain buyers, and of investors in all kinds of productive property and business enterprises, corn, instead of selling for 14 cents per bushel in Des Moines, as now, will bring 60 cents as in 1865; wheat, instead of 60 cents, will bring \$2.00; hogs, instead of 2 and 3 cents per pound gross, will bring from 8 to 12 cts.; and beef cattle, instead of from 1 to 2 cents per pound, will bring from 7 to 10 cents. This will free the people from debt and close all the agencies of the trust and loan companies. All will be made prosperous thereby, excepting the note, mortgage and bond-owning class.\*

Seventy-two cents worth of silver metal now is the equivalent in Iowa of 5 1-7 bushels of corn; a silver dollar, when war prices have been brought back by plentifulness of money, will pay for only 1 1-7 bushels of corn. This shows why the money lenders oppose free silver coinage. The price of money is determined in the West by the number of bushels of corn a dollar will buy. In the pending conflict the following will be the order of battle:

DEAR MONEY AND CHEAP PRODUCTS;

*(The side of the Money Lenders.)*

CHEAP MONEY AND DEAR PRODUCTS;

*(The side of the Producers.)*

\*The Fort Dodge messenger in a long article (which has been reprinted in several papers in Iowa), by a labored presentation of statistical "facts" proves conclusively that prices of labor products are from 40 to 60 per cent lower in 1890 than in 1880. This reduction he counts as the result of "improvements in machinery." It is a "great benefit to farmers and wage workers," he says. Farm implements have been reduced in price by the expiration of patents; but the general reduction of prices has been caused by currency contraction, including the price of lands. Machinery has not caused an "over production" of land. Farm lands ought to be higher in price if farmers are making more money now by farming than in 1880. And what great "improvements in machinery" have been made during the last ten years to produce so marked a difference in prices? Low prices of labor products means bankruptcy to producers of those products and great prosperity to money owners.

All the silver bricks extant that have passed out of the hands of the producers of silver are owned by the banks and are held for speculation. They purchase silver at a low price to sell it at an advance to European buyers. Free silver coinage will wind up this sort of speculation. No more American silver will be sold in the market by the producers of that metal; but the entire product of our mines will be converted into coin as fast as the quartz mills and the smelters can turn it out. What an addition this will be to the volume of our currency—more than fifty million dollars yearly from our own mines! The annual production of silver the world over is about one hundred and eighteen million dollars. Our mints will receive of this not less than seventy-five millions annually. The mighty benefits of such a vast yearly increase of "sound currency," intrinsic value" money to production in the United States, can not be overrated.

But it needs no argumentation to show that the banks will fight it to the death (of themselves, I trust). Othello's occupation will be gone forever, if the people regain their ancient right of silver money; for no longer will the bankers' Saratoga congress control the finances of America and regulate (contract and expand, as it suits their selfish purposes) the volume of our money. That the people of the United States have tamely submitted to be driven by a regiment of Wall street money barons, ignominiously under the yoke and held in Egyptian bondage for twenty-seven years, is a curious commentary on Republican institutions.

## V. WHAT THE PEOPLE DEMAND.

I believe that the fiat of the people of the West, without regard to party, has gone forth that silver must be coined as of old, as freely as gold and, like gold, be made a legal tender for all debts, public and private; and that whoever may take 412½ grains of silver to the mint shall receive therefor a standard legal tender silver dollar, (paying, of course, for its coinage, as the farmer pays toll for his grist), that the value legislated out of silver into gold to enrich the owners of gold (and of notes, mortgages and bonds), shall be legislated back out of gold into silver again to save from bankruptcy and ruin the producers of corn, cotton, etc.

If a tidal wave of silver flow to our shores, as the result of free silver coinage, may not as great a tidal wave of gold flow out from our shores to Europe from the same cause? This will not be to our injury, if for every dollar of gold shipped abroad a legal-tender paper dollar be added to our circulation—as the example of France has taught us to know.

The outcome of this conflict will leave

America a true republic, or it will leave her an unmitigated oligarchy. Cheap money and dear products—a republic; dear money and cheap products—an oligarchy. I nail this thesis to the door of every college and challenge every professor of political economy in the world to controvert it. No people will make laws to impoverish and enslave themselves; and the fact that the American people are impoverished by laws passed by the Congress of the United States and signed by the President, is proof positive that those laws were not passed at the dictation of the many; but only at that of the Saratoga Congress of American bankers who are merely the agents of the money power of the Old World.

I make this assertion as confident of its truth as I am that I exist that every senator and representative in the 51st Congress who shall advocate any other measure of finance than absolutely free silver coinage, is in league with the money lenders; and every political journal that ignores the finance question and rings the cow-bell of "Tariff" or "Free Trade" is subsidised by the bankers' trust of Europe and America. The national campaign of 1888 was fought out on a false issue raised by collusion of dominant party leaders on both sides, at the dictation of the money lords of Wall and Lombard Streets.

The farmers of the West are not now in a condition of mind to submit tamely to be trifled with any longer. Observe the new administration that was entrusted with power by the people, because it pledged "protection" to industry, (and especially to agriculture), inflating the price of government bonds in the hands of the usurers, by buying them in the open market at 127 per cent, while agricultural products are depreciated below cost of production, and the farmers are sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of debt, into which they have been pushed by conspirators and bribe-takers at the capital, at the command of the gold owners of the Old World, through the operation of a system of "currency contraction,"—the national banks being now engaged in "retiring" millions upon millions of their currency to this end; that is to say, to bankrupt the agriculturists and force the foreclosure of mortgages, and the dispossession of the people of their lands, for the avowed purpose of inaugurating permanently and universally the European system of tenantry in the United States and the reduction of our agriculturists to the condition of serfs. And what is worse yet, the present owners will be driven back upon the already over-crowded east, and newly imported foreigners (Bohemians, Poles, etc.,) will occupy the old homesteads of the "independent western farmers," as renters. The old homesteaders must "go" as the

Indians went, unless something be done soon by the government to prevent it. They will not have even the poor privilege of being tenants on the farms they once owned.

The farmers of the Union modestly ask of Congress now, as an initiatory movement for their relief, free coinage of silver, confidently believing that it will raise considerably the price of corn, wheat, pork, beef, cotton, wool, etc., by increasing greatly the amount of money in circulation, and thus help them get from under the burden of debt forced upon them by a false and wicked finance system instituted, by government at the dictation of foreign usurers.

The following statement, made by Mr. C. Hamilton, of Whitelaw, Kansas, illustrates the oppressive working of our present finance system. Mr. H. says: "Three years ago my neighbor borrowed \$140 for ninety days. When it came due there was no money to meet it; it was renewed, and so on, from time to time, till about three weeks ago when the sheriff came out and took the last hoof he had, a wagon, a buggy, two sets of harness, four horses and one cow. They were all sold on the street for \$130. In the three years he paid \$100 in interest."

To be sure, if the state of Kansas was controlled by the people of Kansas, horses and cattle and other property would not be sold, except at an appraised valuation. A friend of mine, Mr. H. Harris, of Brown county, Nebraska, gives me the following facts: "Brown county was settled first in 1884. In 1888 there were about fifteen hundred voters in the county. Mr. C. W. Potter, candidate for Lieut. Governor, examined the county records and found the amount of mortgage debt of the people of that county on land and chattels to be in 1888, \$1,400,000. The interest paid in many cases is from three to twelve per cent per month. To secure a loan of \$335.00 you are obliged to give your note for \$400.00." That is the way the law against usury is evaded. But it is about as bad in Des Moines, where interest is exacted at from three to ten per cent per month.

The condition of the people, financially, is such that the entire surplus in the treasury and a billion dollars more of legal tender scrip ought to be advanced immediately by the government in loans to the producers, on their lands and products, at a rate of interest not greater than the banks pay of "tax on their circulation"—one per cent per annum. But every measure proposed for their relief is defeated at Washington, and the policy of George III towards our fathers, is being repeated by Congress toward the toilers of America.

#### VI. A FRAUDULENT "SILVER BILL."

The "Windom Silver Bill" puts a stop

to the coinage of the "from two to four million dollars monthly," of silver provided for by the law of 1878. That is manifestly the one essential aim of the measure, if not to underhandedly demonetize silver, as before, and thus again contract the currency hundreds of millions in the interest of the gold, note, mortgage and bond owners. It is a cunning attempt of a public officer not to do what the people have commanded to be done. It provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall purchase with legal tender silver certificates, silver bullion dug from American mines. How much? That is left optional with the Secretary of the Treasury. None will be purchased by him, it is safe to say. Why? Because (1) he will have no disposition to purchase contrary to the behests of the money-lenders. Because (2) the silver bullion will be cornered by the banks (that have resolved upon maintaining the single gold standard controlling the amount of currency afloat and keeping money scarce among the people), so that he cannot do so if he even had a mind to; for the bill provides that if specie be "cornered" and the price brought up above a certain point below par, "he shall not purchase any."

And because (3) of the manifest design of the following clause of Mr. Windom's fraudulent "silver bill," which clause is intended to neutralize the good promised, *i. e.*, prevent the increase of the amount of money in circulation. It reads as follows: "That the notes issued under the provisions of this Act shall be redeemed upon demand at the Treasury of the United States, or at the office of an Assistant Treasurer of the United States, by the issue of a certificate of deposit for the sum of the notes so presented, payable at one of the mints of the United States, in an amount of silver bullion equal in value on the date of said certificate to the number of dollars stated therein, at the market price of silver, or such notes may be redeemed in gold coin, at the option of the Government; provided, that upon demand of the holder such notes shall be redeemed in silver dollars."

Note the fact that "these notes shall be redeemed"—how? (1) By the issue of "certificates of deposit," or (2), in gold coin, or (3), "at the demand of the holder," in silver dollars. The "option of the government" means nothing; for has not the government done the bidding of the Wall street bankers and brokers for twenty-seven years?—and will it not continue, in so far as Mr. Windom is concerned, to still do their bidding? Those silver certificates will circulate as money till they reach the banks, when they will be returned to the sub-treasury for redemption "in gold coin" or "certificates of deposit," but "the holder" will never demand silver

dollars. Hence the banks will continue to control the amount of currency afloat. Mr. Windom manifestly has no intention by this bill to deprive the banks of this power.

The following clause provides for the coinage (?) of silver: "That the silver deposited under this act, represented by treasury notes which have been redeemed in gold coin or in silver dollars, *may be coined* into standard silver dollars or any other denomination of silver coin now authorized by law for the purpose of replacing the coin used in the redemption of the notes." Observe the expression, "*may be coined.*" Would Mr. Windom, the Wall street banker, cash a note endorsed, "he *may* pay?" "*Shall* be coined," would mean something. "*May be,*" means nothing. And if the law said "those notes shall be redeemed in silver dollars," it would mean something for the interest of the producers. But the producers are not intended to be benefitted by it; but the bankers are.

#### VII. AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT.

It is an old saying that "Chickens come home to roost." The issue of legal-tender notes in payment for silver bullion to be stored up by the government, is an important precedent that may be valuable to the people hereafter in their war against the money power. Let me inquire:

*First.*—What right has the government to purchase one particular commodity at the exclusion of all others, and that commodity one among the least essential and least useful of all the commodities?

*Second.*—Why not government buy up all the surplus wheat, as Joseph, the high chancellor of the Egyptian Pharaoh did, "laying it up in store houses?" And why not give for it "wheat certificates," receivable for customs, taxes and all public dues, and when received into the Treasury may be reissued, the same as is proposed by the "Windom bill" for silver certificates? This would kill the "wheat trust" and give the farmers a sure market for that cereal at the price "current in the leading markets of the world," and add greatly to the amount of money afloat.

So the gold owners are "building wiser than they know," in their frantic efforts to destroy silver money and maintain the "gold standard." You, Mr. Conger, the reputed god-father of the Windom (Dexel, Morgan & Co.'s, rather) "silver bill," will do a good office to your constituents of the 7th district of Iowa, and the inhabitants of the entire Mississippi valley, from the Alleghanies to the Rockies, and from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, by securing an amendment to the bill, so as to include wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley,

beans, peas, rice, cotton, sugar, salt, etc., also copper, lead, coal, pig-iron, petroleum, etc., etc., that the government shall purchase and store up, the same as it does the comparatively useless and non-essential metal, silver, paying for them treasury notes, "receivable" the same as those to be provided for the purchase of silver metal, and at the "prices current in the leading markets of the world." Gold to be included also among the metals so purchased and kept in store, and paid for with "gold certificates," made legal tender, and prohibiting the coinage of gold, the same as silver, showing the same favor to the one metal as to the other, and the same to all metals alike, and to all the more valuable products not too perishable, the necessary as well as the ornamental, the useful as well as the beautiful.

Thus will you do a lasting good to your country, and especially the West and South,—burdened with mortgage debts—increasing vastly in this way the amount of money afloat—gold and silver taking their places, on a level with all other commodities, and not honored above those more useful, the exclusive "basis" of our paper money ceasing to be "gold." I think this is really coming. The farmers of our country in national convention last fall, demanded substantially this very recognition—the same as has been given bullion owners. And Senator Vance has introduced into Congress a bill to this effect, as I learn from the following press dispatch in this morning's papers:

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 24, 1890.—Senator Vance introduced a bill to establish in every county in every state in the Union an agricultural depository under the control of the treasury department, in which the owners of grain, cotton, tobacco, etc., may deposit their product, receiving therefor a warehouse receipt and treasury notes equal to 80 per cent of the net market value of the deposit. Deposits may be redeemed at any time on payment of the sum advanced, with interest at 1 per cent per annum."

So, just as fast as insatiable greed can push them on, the gold monopolists are paving the way to the complete overthrow of the ancient idol, the "Golden Calf," that the American people have been ignorantly worshipping for the last twenty-seven years, to their utter demoralization and ruin.

### VIII. AN AMERICAN FINANCE SYSTEM.

The farmers of the Mississippi valley will soon be dispossessed of their lands, if relief by government do not come quickly. Indeed it is the same thing with them as if dispossessed now. Their lands are mortgaged, and the interest they pay is a heavy rent. The principal they can never pay. Why does not

farming pay? What ails Uncle Sam? He is bound hands and feet in chains. What enemy hath done this? Many enemies. It is a mob of evils that has assaulted and finally overcome him. Heavy taxes are part. Tax on sugar, tax on tobacco, tax on cows, tax on lands, tax on everything he calls his own. But I may truly say these taxes are comparatively a very small evil. The tax by railroad corporations is greater still. But the tax that hurts most is the *tax on money*. It is not paid to government, it is paid to private corporations and individuals. This is an eating cancer in the throat of Uncle Sam. This is what will kill him if not removed. The other things hurt; but they do not kill. This money tax is fatal if let run.

What then is the remedy?

*First*—Abolish the national banks.

*Second*—Institute an American finance system.

But what is an American finance system?

The first practical thing to do in order to insure the financial independence of the United States, is to abandon gold basis, re-establish the free and unlimited coinage of silver and increase the amount of legal tender paper money to the extent of supplying immediately the pressing needs of the farmers for money. How?

By loans (1) to the states, by the general government; (2) by the states to the counties, and (3) by the counties to the farmers—precisely as the school fund is loaned—the state paying the general government (let us say) one per cent interest annually for the money, the counties paying the state two per cent, and the farmers paying the counties three per cent. The principal never to be demanded of the borrowers as long as the interest is met. But the farmers ought to receive loans from the government at as low rates as the banks pay on their "circulation"—i. e. one per cent. or without interest, like the sixty million loan made to "pet banks" by President Cleveland.

How much money shall the state advance to the farmers?

*First*—Enough to lift all the mortgages from their lands.

*Second*—To all who have on their lands no incumbrances, the entire valuation, if they desire it, of their lands as heretofore appraised for taxation; and to those who have those incumbrances, not less than that amount.

Thus would the government become *de facto* owner of the lands. But the *de jure* ownership of land must be limited to a reasonable homestead—say not to exceed 320 acres to any one person, and corporations should not be permitted to own productive or mineral lands.

But will there not be great danger of

an over supply of money? No person can have too much money if he has no more than he can invest profitably in trade or productive business. But if he has more than he can thus make profitable use of, could he deposit it in a public depository of money established by the United States government, the surplus would thus flow back to its source as the water flows back to the sea. When every money-order postoffice has become a savings bank, too much money cannot be put afloat. Every person is the best judge of the amount of money he can profitably use. For the government to establish a certain *per capita* amount is as far wrong as to say how many plows *per capita* shall be manufactured, or how many railroad engines *per capita* shall be built. Money is a tool. Let the supply equal the demand, and let the surplus be laid away by the people in Uncle Sam's savings

banks till wanted by the producers, as farm implements are put away in the barns till wanted for use, or railroad engines in the round houses.

#### IX. THE CONCLUSION.

I close this letter by repeating that the interests of the producers of America must be looked after at the national capital during the administration of President Harrison, as was promised by him and by the party that nominated him, and to this end the free coinage of silver must be inaugurated in good faith, and that speedily, to increase the volume of our money, that the products of industry may bring a fair return for labor and capital employed in their production, or, (if I miss not my guess) seven millions of intelligent voters west of the Alleghanies "will know the reason why."

Respectfully,

LEONARD BROWN.

### ESSAY XVI.—SILVER MONEY AND BOND PAYMENT.

#### I. THE ST. LOUIS SILVER CONVENTION.

A national silver convention was held at St. Louis, Nov. 26, 27 and 28, 1889. In the preamble and resolutions adopted it was declared, "That the demonetization of silver has worked a practical violation of every contract then existing in the United States, entailed uncounted losses, reduced prices more than thirty per cent, and its effect is practically to make debts perpetual, as it takes from the debtor the ability to pay; that it causes contraction of the currency, which reduces values until there is no profit left to the farmer, planter, or men of small capital, who depend upon the sale of products for return for their labor."

\* \* \* \* \*

"That considering the contraction caused by the surrender of national bank notes during the past three years, and the vast sum that must be collected by the cancellation of government bonds during the next three years, the necessity of restoring silver is as manifest as is the justice of such a policy."

\* \* \* \* \*

That we believe in equal rights of gold and silver and free coinage for both, and that as no nation ever had or ever will have too much gold and silver coin. Now therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Fifty-first Congress be requested by this convention to provide at its first session for opening the mints of the United States to the free and unlimited coinage of standard silver dollars of the present weight and fineness, to be legal tender for all debts, public or private, equal with gold, and

that until such a provision is made, the Secretary of the Treasury be required to coin the maximum, \$4,000,000 worth of silver per month, as now authorized by law."

Mr. Thos. W. Fitch in a speech before the convention said: "After twenty years of national prosperity the amount of our national debt, measured by the number of day's work that would be required to pay it, is as much as it was in 1868. In 1868 the amount of our national debt was \$2,610,000,000. Wheat was worth \$1.89 per bushel, cotton 19 cents a pound, pork \$27 a barrel. We could have paid the national debt then with 1,400,000,000 bushels of wheat, 100,000,000 barrels of pork or 43,000,000 bales of cotton. Since 1868 we have paid in dollars \$1,480,000,000 of the public debt, and there is now left in dollars to pay \$1,130,000,000. But wheat, cotton and pork have gone down in price. It would take as many bushels of wheat, as many bales of cotton, as many barrels of pork, as many days' labor to pay the balance now due of \$1,130,000,000 as would have sufficed in 1868 to pay the debt of \$2,610,000,000. One has but to journey through this land to know that amid apparent general abundance, amid the vast actual increase of general wealth, the laborer is not so prosperous or contented, or so hopeful as he was in the years which immediately succeeded Appomattox. For twenty years, or at least sixteen years, in this republic the laborer has been vainly striving to increase the amount of dollars for his labor, and the capitalist has been plotting to increase the amount of toil he should receive for

his dollars. For sixteen years the market value of dollars has gone up and the market value of man's labor has gone down, until freemen, in the bitterness of their wrath, sometimes ask which is the greater evil, the black slavery that is gone or the white slavery that has come? [Applause.] Do I overstate the situation? [Many voices "No."] For twenty years we have had abundant prosperity, but at the end of it we find that wealth is centered in a few hands. Has the laborer then nothing to show for twenty years of toil? Oh, yes, he can boast that the aggregate wealth of the nation has largely increased. He can boast of the factories established, cities erected, rivers bridged, mountains tunneled, transcontinental highways stretching from ocean to ocean. He can call the roll of millionaires to-day and thousands will respond, where, before the war, there were less than 500. He can wipe the sweat from his weary face and reflect that among the 8,000 millionaires may be enumerated the names of twenty American citizens who have gathered \$1,500,000,000 from the toil and tears of 60,000,000 of people. [Applause.] These twenty men have it in their power to combine their efforts and fix the price of every bushel of wheat, every ton of coal, and every day's wages of labor between the Hudson and the Sacramento. He can reflect that these twenty men have it in their power to name the majority of Senators, Congressmen, Governors, Judges, and legislators in twenty states. He can jostle his rags against the silken garments which his toil has made. He can regale his hunger by the odors of things which he can not taste. He can walk weary and shelterless in the shadow of the palace which he built, but he may not enter."

## II. THE REDUCTION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 30.—It is estimated at the treasury department that the reduction in the public debt during November will amount to \$4,000,000. The treasury department to-day purchased \$211,800 four per cent bonds at 127 flat, and \$45,000 four and a half per cents at 104½ and interest."

I copy the above press dispatch from a morning paper. By it we learn the astounding fact that the government is now paying 27 per cent premium for the redemption of its bonds or four and five-eighths per cent and interest, which I understand to be the balance of interest for the time the bonds have yet to run to maturity.

Not less than twenty-seven per cent premium has been paid for the \$4,000,000 debt redeemed last month, or \$1,080,000 given gratuitously to bond-owners above the legal or par value of their bonds, above the governments' written "promise to pay."

The government has no more right (morally and, I believe, no more legally) to give even one cent above its written obligation than it has to repudiate the whole bonded debt—nor has it half as much; for that debt has been many times paid already.

From the Indianapolis *Globe* of Dec. 18, 1889, I take the following figures: "The total amount lent the Government by the money-lenders was \$2,375,447,763. The bond-holders have had paid back to them in principal and interests as follows:

Principal.....	\$1,601,549,563
Interest.....	2,498,172,553

Total.....	\$4,109,722,116
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They have still in their hands :

\$126,609,350 4½ per cent bonds, worth at market rates (105%).....	\$133,889,239
\$647,288,850 of 4 per cent at market rates (\$1.27)	822,056,839

Total returns on investment of \$2,375,447,763. \$5,065,668,242

While the money-lenders have received over four thousand million dollars in principal and interest for the loan of \$2,375,447,763 of depreciated dollars, they still have on hand bonds almost equaling the gold valuation of their original loan! Verily 'to him that hath it shall be given.'

It may be properly stated also that while the bond-holders have received interest to the amount of \$2,498,172,553, the total amount paid by the United States government to the disabled soldiers and widows and orphans of the dead veterans from 1864 to 1880, equals \$458,166,301.02, or a little more than one-sixth of the amount paid in interest on bonds, as a *pension to the rich*, bestowed to reward them for their lending the government depreciated greenbacks to be repaid in appreciated gold coin, which, when rightly looked into, is seen to be a steal as infamous as burglary or highway robbery. And then, for the disabled soldiers and their widows, orphans and dependent parents of those who fell in battle or died of wounds or of disease contracted in the army, to be grudgingly and meagerly supported, and the policy of caring for them denounced by the metropolitan press, subsidized by the bond-holders who live on "fixed incomes," (pensions) off the tax-payers, is a little too much for the patriotic to put up with, with equanimity.

## III. A GREAT WRONG.

President Harrison in his late message tells us that "During the fiscal year there was applied to the purchase of bonds, in addition to those for the sinking fund, \$90,456,172.35, and during

the first quarter of the current year the sum of \$37,838,957.77, all of which were credited to the sinking fund." By paying this amount of money to the bond-owners, how much has been cancelled of the bonded debt? The ninety million and more plus the thirty-seven million and more of money paid, equal \$128,295,130.02. At twenty-seven per cent premium on bonds this cancels \$101,019,787.41 of bonded debt, leaving to the fortunate "pet bankers" the magnificent donation of \$27,275,312.61 gold. What is this but barefaced robbery of the many to enrich the few? But it is in line with the whole financial policy of the government at Washington ever since the close of the civil war.

No amount of special pleading can show this robbery to be justifiable. Agricultural lands, and all other productive property, and all the products of labor and labor itself, are greatly depreciated in value, and the lands are mortgaged to the bond-owners, while bonds bear a premium of twenty-seven per cent., the government being the chief purchaser! This is wrong. The President of the United States knows it is wrong. The Secretary of the Treasury knows it is wrong. The members of both House and Senate all know it is wrong. Every politician and every editor of a political paper knows it is wrong. We all know it is wrong.

Why, then, is it done? It is done because the money-lenders control. They dictate the nomination of presidents and of members of Congress, etc., etc., and contribute most of the campaign funds—control the state legislatures—rule America. Why? Because the people are asleep. Because they are hood-winked. Because party spirit has greater influence with them than patriotism and self-interest. The money-lenders control the machinery of party, while the people merely record at the ballot-box the dictum of the party "bosses;" and the "bosses" are the obsequious lickspits of the money-lenders—their paid pimps—

"Vermin that crawl to do their bidding."

No wonder that bold burglary, like the payment of the bonds at twenty-seven per cent premium, is committed by the Secretary of the Treasury in broad daylight, when we have the testimony of the Rev. Joseph Cook in his Monday lecture in Tremont temple, Boston, Feb. 3, 1890, that "*Two thousand capitalists own more than all the rest of the sixty five millions of our population. Two hundred and fifty thousand rich men control seventy-five per cent of the national wealth. The American republic is therefore practically owned by less than one quarter of a million of persons. If present causes which produce concentration of capital continue, the republic will soon be owned by less than fifty thousand men.*" This is the most as-

tounding fact of history, ancient or modern, that in the space of a quarter of a century, in a republic founded on equality with equal opportunities, believed to be open to all, two thousand men should come to be possessed of more wealth than all the balance of sixty-five millions of people. Has there not occurred something radically wrong to bring about such a result? Does any sane man believe that with less than fifty thousand men *owning the Republic* the people will continue to govern? This is a terrible fact to stare us in the face. What will the sixty-five millions do when they awaken to find themselves disinherited? When they awaken to find that the American republic is owned (and, of course, governed,) by less than fifty thousand men! To-day "two hundred and fifty thousand rich men control seventy-five per cent of the national wealth!" Now, either that two hundred and fifty thousand must be dispossessed of the control of that wealth, or the sixty-five millions must be forever slaves.

The causes of this centralization of wealth in the hands of the few are not difficult to understand, the chief among them being *currency contraction*, which has enhanced the value of money and destroyed that of productive property so that (as stated by Mr. Fitch) though more than one-half of our bonded debt has been paid "it would take as many bushels of wheat, as many bales of cotton, as many barrels of pork, as many days' labor to pay the balance now due of \$1,130,000,000 as would have sufficed in 1868 to pay the debt of \$2,610,000."

When we consider that all debts must be paid in *labor and the products of labor*, the magnitude of the wrong done the producers dawns upon our minds. Secretary Windom tells us that the national banking corporations have retired their circulation since 1878 to the amount of \$114,000,000, which is more than ten millions yearly. The loss to the people of the amount already paid on the public debt of \$1,480,000,000 is not a tithe of their loss. All indebtedness has been enhanced in value in like proportion by currency contraction. This increase in the burden of debt has not been less than \$13,000,000,000—a clean loss to the producers and a clean gain to the money-lenders of that vast sum.

Can we wonder that the peoples' voice is no longer heard or obeyed at Washington, and that the Mississippi valley is practically unrepresented in Congress? I challenge any man to name, in the two houses, ten members that represent western or southern interests, either by vote or voice. They do nothing except when put forward to lead in the betrayal of western and southern interests. This is not a petulant speech. It is not exag-

geration. It is the sober truth. The interests of the two thousand capitalists who "own more than all the rest of the six-five millions of our population" are alone regarded at Washington. "The two hundred and fifty thousand rich men, controlling seventy-five per cent of the national wealth," *control seventy-five per cent of the votes in Congress.* "The American republic is therefore practically owned" (AND GOVERNED) "by less than a quarter of a million of persons." "If present causes, which produce concentration of capital, continue, the republic will soon be owned" (AND GOVERNED) "by less than fifty thousand men."

Our fathers in 1776 had not before them so appalling a contest as confronts us to-day. We have the combined, consolidated money power of the world to fight against, bent upon our everlasting enslavement; and that power has enlisted on its side President, Cabinet, Congress and the Supreme Court, State legislatures, Governors and Judges—AS A RULE (to which the exceptions are fearfully few); and that power, like a mighty serpent, has entwined itself about the bodies and limbs of our people, and it holds them to-day in its deadly coils. Our country is Laocoon and his sons; and the serpents coiled about them are the great money "trust" of Europe and America.

#### IV. GIVE THE PRODUCERS A CHANCE.

■ The \$27,275,342.61 gratuity to bond-owners, bestowed in the last sixteen months, would go a great way toward paying off the mortgages on the Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota farms. Why not the government give this sum gratis to western farmers, rather than gratis to eastern millionaire bond-owners? Whose government ought this be, anyway? and for whose benefit administered? Those millions, and other millions—yea billions—have already been given gratuitously to bond-owners—why not now the government, in the same spirit of liberality to the farmers as it shows to bankers—cancel the mortgages against the western farms? Will the people submit always to be thus bankrupted by law that the few may be enriched? Must they be victims to this kind of robbery forever? Their farms will soon all be sold at sheriff's outcry by foreclosure of mortgages. The people will soon be dispossessed of their inheritance. They will soon all be serfs and slaves to foreign usurers. They are so already.

But it is strange that in states entirely agricultural, like Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and the Dakotas, the people do not rule; and if in these states they do not, where may they rule? The Omaha Bee, a leading anti-monopoly paper of the great prairie states, makes,

in a late number, the following sad disclosure in an able editorial article. It says: "The senate of the United States has become a house of lords, and the house of representatives the house of corporation lawyers. Our state legislatures, even when composed largely of farmers, as they are in Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas, are manipulated by corrupt lobbies and bulldozed into subjection by the domineering corporation managers. Within a few years these states have been converted into mere railroad preserves, and state conventions have simply been ratification meetings to endorse the choice of the railroad bosses." The people have almost reached a condition of despair; and it has become a common saying, "money will rule." It will if it can, of course; and it can if it will, provided we sit still and make no effort to be heard and our voice heeded in the halls of legislation. The success of the Grange movement in 1871 proves that earnest effort will not be in vain. But while we continue to nominate and elect candidates to the legislature and to congress, not for their fitness, but because they *want the places*; and are rich, using their money freely employing runners to go over the country to secure "the farmers' support," just so long will "money rule."

The millionaires have their hands upon the helm and they guide whithersoever they will, the Old Ship of State. Every cent given them beyond their just dues, beyond the legal value of their bonds increases to that extent the power of the plutocrats (who are omnipotent at Washington now), and diminishes to that extent the power of the people (who are powerless at Washington now).

Of the \$60,000,000 public money deposited, without interest, in favored national banks by President Cleveland, President Harrison says: "The loaning of public funds to the banks without interest upon the security of government bonds, I regard as an unauthorized and dangerous expedient. It results in a temporary and unnatural increase of the banking capital of favored localities and compels a cautious and gradual recall of the deposits to avoid injury to the commercial interests. It is not to be expected that the banks having these deposits will sell their bonds to the treasury so long as the present highly beneficial arrangement is continued. They now practically get interest both upon the bonds and their proceeds. No further use should be made of this method of getting the surplus into circulation and the deposits now outstanding should be gradually withdrawn and applied to the purchase of bonds. It is fortunate that such use can be made of the existing surplus, and for sometime to come of any casual surplus that may exist after Congress has taken the necessary steps for a reduction of the revenue."

It is wrong then, according to President Harrison, for the bond-owners to "get interest, both upon the bonds and their proceeds." But is not this very thing done when, upon the deposit of bonds, ninety per cent is returned in (so-called) "bank bills" excepting that one per cent. annual interest (tax) is paid by the banks "on their circulation?"

But President Harrison's Secretary of Treasury (Mr. Windom), in spite of the president's condemnation of the principle, says that "this tax is unjust to the banks;" and he asks Congress to lift the burden off the shoulders of the oppressed bankers—which would be to deposit with them "without interest, on the security of bonds" between four and five hundred millions of *quasi* legal-tender money "as valuable as gold," the bankers "getting interest, both upon the bonds and their proceeds."

O, Uncle Sam,

"Why do your dogs bark so? Be there bears in the town?"

I copy the following press dispatch:

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 4.—Secretary Windom has received letters from three national bank depositories in response to his notice of the withdrawal of 10 per cent of the government's deposits on January 15. One bank surrenders the entire amount on deposit and offered to sell the government \$300,000 of 4 per cent bonds at \$1 27. Another offered to sell \$50,000 at the same figure. Both offers were accepted. The third bank waived the 10 per cent privilege and declared its intention to sell the government its \$110,000 security bonds at prevailing rates. The treasury officials think this prompt action is probably due to the fact that there will be a reduction of 1 per cent in the premium on 4 per cents after the 1st of January."

In this manner does Secretary Windom make way with President Cleveland's \$60,000,000 deposit with "pet banks"—27 per cent of it a present to the "pets"—amounting to \$12,755,904.73! And they are pets still—fed on sugar-plums of gold! They have only to speak the magic word "sesame," and the doors of Uncle Sam's money vaults fly open to them as wide under President Harrison, as under President Cleveland, while the people are fed on husks "fit only for swine to eat."

#### V. A "SUBSTANTIAL ADVANTAGE."

But the president says: "We should not collect revenue for the purpose of anticipating our bonds or the requirements of the sinking fund. But any unappropriated surplus in the treasury should be used so, as there is no other lawful way of returning the money to circulation, and the profit realized by the government offers substantial advantage."

A "substantial advantage" to the

government to redeem its bonds at a premium of 27 per cent! "Any unappropriated surplus in the treasury should be used so, as there is no other lawful way of returning the money to circulation."

Why is there "no other lawful way of returning the money to circulation?" And in what is the profit? And where the advantage?

Is it accidental that there is "no other lawful way of returning the money to circulation," than for the government to buy up its own bonds at a premium of 27 per cent?—or was this condition of things brought about designedly by the authors of the funding scheme, that has brought ruin upon our country? Whatever has resulted, as the outcome of our monetary system, has come about by design of the authors of that system.

The ostensible reason for thus squandering the public revenue is that the bonds have yet many years to run, and the interest on them to maturity would amount to 27 per cent or more. The government, having a "surplus," would as well, (it is argued by the bullionists and their attorneys in high places) pay the whole in a lump now as by piecemeal in years to come, and "the profit realized by the government (they say) offers substantial advantage."

Is money worth nothing to the people from whom it has been extorted by taxation? Western farmers are paying now on mortgages from 8 to 40 per cent annual interest, to these same bond-owning usurers, toward whom the government is so over-generous. The western farmers would gladly pay the government 4 and 5 per cent annual interest for the loan of all the surplus now in the treasury, or that may be accumulated until the time the bonds become due. "And any unappropriated surplus in the treasury should be used so," I think. It is a "lawful way of returning the money to circulation, and the profit realized by the government" (the people—if it be "lawful" any longer to call the "people" the government) offers substantial advantage "to them." If the government may "lawfully" lend bankers money at one per cent to the amount of \$400,000,000, upon the security of government bonds, it may as lawfully lend farmers money at one per cent on the security of agricultural lands. The government may do whatever is for the "greatest good to the greatest number," rather than for the greatest good of the few, or it is a tyranny. If it may borrow of individuals, it may lend to individuals. It does both borrow money of and lend money to individuals. But those individuals are a favored class—"pets." Why not lend money to land-owners as well as to bond-owners? on the security of lands, as on the security of bonds? and at as favorable rates, say \$60,000,000 without interest, and making the land-

owners a present of 27 per cent of that when calling it in, as Mr. Windom is now doing to bankers; and \$400,000,000 at one per cent interest (tax) per annum for 20, 40, 60, 80, 100—yea 1,000 years for that matter, as it has done by the bankers "on the security of bonds," who "get interest, both upon the bonds and their proceeds." Let the many have equal benefits of government and law that are accorded to a favored few. That is all I ask. That is all the people want. That will free them from debt. That will make them prosperous and happy.

#### VI. THE OBLIGATION TO TAX PAYERS REPUDIATED.

By legislation the government can destroy the value of its bonds so that they will sell even lower than 27 per cent below par; as by legislation it destroyed the value of silver so that silver sells at 35 per cent below par. Why did government destroy the value of silver? It was done at the command of British gold owners. The increased value of bonds above par has been legislated into them at the command of the foreign usurers. Our government has as clear a right to legislate value *out* of the bonds in the interest of the tax-payers, and then, in their interest, buy them in at 27 per cent discount (as it has done with silver, in the interest of the gold owners, buying it in at 35 per cent discount) as it has to legislate value into bonds in the interest of bond-owners, as it has done, and buying them in at 27 per cent premium to enrich bankers.

But what would be said if government bought in its own obligations at 27 per cent discount, having first depreciated them by "unfavorable legislation?" The cry of "repudiation" would be raised by every bond owner and by every subsidized newspaper editor in the land. But has not the government repudiated its obligations to the tax-payers by giving more than "face value" for its written obligation to bond-owners? What do the subsidized newspaper editors say about this? They say nothing.

Is it because there is no other "lawful way" of getting into circulation the two millions of silver coined monthly, than through the agency of banks, that have combined to prevent it, that the millions are hoarded, to the bursting of the money vaults at Washington, and the object of silver coinage (which was to increase constantly the circulation) is defeated? Why is not an order made by the Secretary of the Treasury to pay all pensions of twelve dollars per month and under in standard silver coin? This would put in circulation about \$50,000,000 yearly. The soldiers and widows would gladly take their pittance in legal-tender silver, if they knew it was so paid

in order to defeat the robber banks in their nefarious schemes to nullify the laws and prevent the distribution of silver currency; because they would feel that they were patriotically serving their country, and in as good a cause as cost the loss of arm, leg or life of the soldier.

Why were the bonds that the government is now paying 27 per cent premium for, buying them in the market and keeping up thus their price—not made payable at the option of the government, as the three per cent's were? Certainly they could have been sold, if the three per cent call bonds were sold.

Seven hundred million dollars of the public debt became due in 1878, that was payable in "lawful money" (greenbacks). Of course "call bonds" bearing interest at four per cent could have been exchanged for all the "lawful money" bonds then mature. There would be to-day no mortgages on western farms and an unprecedented prosperity would now prevail universally in our country if that seven hundred million dollars of debt had been paid in 1878 in "lawful money" (greenbacks) according to law and the obligation of the government to the people not repudiated. But it was placed in its present condition intentionally by the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Sherman) and a recreant Congress, to keep up the price of bonds and to keep down the price of labor and labor products, that the rich might grow richer and the poor poorer, and to afford future Secretaries of the Treasury a pretext (that Mr. Windom now takes advantage of) to squander hundreds of millions of the peoples' money in gifts to bond-owners, literally burglarizing the national treasury "according to law."

#### VII. THE SUMMING UP.

By a simple process has the Boaconstrictor (the British gold-trust) slimed over and swallowed down into its ravenous stomach all the productive wealth of the United States, until "two thousand capitalists own more than all the rest of the sixty-five millions of our population." Given the control and ownership of a nation's finance, and the ultimate ownership and control of all a nation's wealth by the owners, controllers and manipulators of the nation's finance is as demonstratable as the plainest geometrical proposition. That the American people have turned over the control of this most important interest to the gold-barons of Europe and their Wall street agents, and continued it in their hands for more than twenty years, is a strange thing.

There is no other interest equal in importance to the control of the finance. If our people will not see this, and if there must continue to be a "money power"

distinct from the whole people, controlling this great interest and drawing from production in our country more than a billion dollars annually through the channel of usury, then we may as well lay down our weapons of warfare in despair and acknowledge the patent fact that the American republic has ceased to exist. The national banking law passed while the attention of the people was engrossed with the most gigantic civil war ever known, amounted to the surrender of all the wealth of the nation and all the power of the people into the hands of a few rich men, principally agents of foreign bankers. Those insatiable Anglo-American plutocrats, are to-day the absolute rulers and lords of our country. They can bring bankruptcy and ruin immediately to every man's door, if they will. How many voters realize that they occupy the same position in relation to the money power (speaking figuratively) as the people of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, did to the reservoir above them? But such is our present situation and deplorable condition.

The complete emancipation of labor will come about finally when both gold and silver have been demonetized—when the only money is legal-tender scrip, issued directly to the people in loans by government, on long time at a nominal rate of interest, amounting to a very light tax on production, and placing equal advantages within the reach of all. Gold and silver will have no value, demonetized, save as metals used in the arts—the only value they ought to have. Their price will be low, for their uses are not many nor essential. But when will the ninety-and-nine see this? When will they see that to demonetize gold and silver both will destroy the money power effectually? Until they see this, the ninety-and-nine will be slaves to the one, but when they do once see it, and act upon it, the one will have no advantage over the ninety-and-nine, and all slavery will cease.

Deluded people to cry "gold and silver the only money!" Rather proclaim gold and silver no longer money, if you would be free, prosperous and happy. O workers, think, reason and act upon this supreme proposal—the demonetization of the so-called "precious metals." It is the most important measure that can be carried out for the social and economic welfare of mankind.

The capitalists play fast and loose—now in one country securing, to suit their robber purposes, the demonetization of gold, in another, of silver. Let the people free themselves from slavery and deal a death blow to the money power by demonetizing *both*. Let all interest-bearing bonds be done away. Let the people become the common owners of all railroads, telegraph, telephones, bonanza farms, and mineral and coal lands by paying the present so-

called "owners" for them in non-interest-bearing government demand notes, to be redeemed in the "lawful money of the United States" at the option of the holders of the notes. Then, having established as the result of the legal-tender system of money, co-operative production and co-operative distribution of products, having instituted universally, by means of protective laws, co-operative manufacturing, co-operative mining, co-operative farming, co-operative stores, etc., having systematized the social arrangements so that harmony will result in consequence of each individual of which society is composed, having his exactly equal share of all benefits that of right should be common—the work of the social reformer will be happily finished, and the sentinel on the watch-tower of freedom can proclaim "all is well."

The key to the solution of the labor problem is finance. The tax paid for the tool, money, would better go to support government than to build up the wealth of the Rothschilds and Barings, a money power—to dominate the world and extinguish the freedom of mankind. Let all the cost of money rather accrue to the benefit of the state, and not to the building up of the wealth of individual "usurers"—to pensioning the widows and orphans and not to supplying "fixed incomes" to millionaire barons. Figure what is paid by the people in interest on bonds, national, state, city, railroad, etc., etc., (and the laborers pay all) and on promissory notes secured by mortgages on houses, lands, etc., and you reach a sum far in excess of all taxation for the support of government, including the cost of administering the laws and paying pensions, maintaining schools and supporting the dependent poor, and all other legitimate governmental expenses.\* Let so much of this be turned into the common treasury, by means of an equitable finance system, as is required to meet the demands of government, and let the balance be retained in the pockets of the producers to enrich them. In a word, destroy *usury* and save to the people all that now goes through that broad channel, to enrich the few.

#### VIII. A CONSERVATIVE PROPOSAL.

But the practical thing to do right now is (1) to insist upon the restoration

\*The estimated interest-bearing indebtedness of the people of the United States, is twenty-six billion dollars, and the estimated annual interest is two billion five hundred thousand dollars. To pay this annual interest, would require fifteen billion bushels of corn, which, at 600 bushels per car, would load twenty-five million cars, which would make a train nearly 190 000 miles long, and would reach around the globe 7 3/5 times. At thirty bushels per acre, it would require five hundred millions of acres to raise it—equal to more than twelve of the largest states in the Union.—F. B. WILSON.

of silver to its ancient seat by the side of gold. Great mining interests are involved, and the Rocky Mountain states and territories will be enlisted to help in this fight against the money power of the old world. But whatever may be the amount of silver and gold coined, the business of our country will require an enormous supply of paper money. This should be no other than legal-tender government scrip.

But (2) if the money power cannot be overcome except by an extraordinary uprising of the masses,) which I apprehend will be the case) and there is a struggle impending unprecedented in our history, by the time that struggle is concluded the people will have become so disgusted with the avarice and want of patriotism of the gold owners—that is to say, eastern syndicates of bankers—the agents of the British money lords, that they will not stop short of doing what will have become a necessity—they will do away entirely with specie.

But the mining interests belong to America, while the money-lending interests have their head-center in Lombard street, London. Patriotism demands that we protect our mines and encourage their development. Patriotism demands also that we strike down, as we would a venomous reptile, the money-lending vampire. Encourage the investment of money in productive enterprises of all kinds; but let no man be protected in money lending. Yet, the way to put a stop to usury is not to ordain penalties, but to supply wants. The reader by this time fully understands what remedy I would apply. Just let the government, I repeat, do by the many as now it does by the few—lend money to the many as now it lends money to the few. Let no middle-man stand between the government and the people, to get rich by receiving money from the government at one per cent interest, (or free of interest, like the sixty million loan,) and lending it out to producers at from 8 to 40 per cent. Farming out money to the few at a nominal rent and giving the few the power to “rack rent it” out to the many, as is now the policy and practice of the government, must cease in this republic, and that speedily. The masses will endure it no longer.†

†A friend of mine, a national banker, calls my attention to a statement made on the 58th page of this work—that “the one per cent per annum tax paid by the national bankers to the United States government for their bank currency hardly reimburses the government for the cost of printing the bills.” He says that I am far wrong in saying this because ex-comptroller Knox declares that one per cent tax paid by the banks amounted in seven years to sixteen million dollars. Of course printing the bills, he says, would not cost sixteen million dollars in seven years. The “printing of the bills” may not cost so much. But I did not mean to include that item of cost alone. I meant to say that it does not pay the people to give to the bankers so much for so little. Let me figure: \$16,000,000 is one

“In principle radical; in action conservative,” will be the motto of the producers. We will make moderate demands. If not acceded to, history will repeat itself. Radical measures will result of necessity as followed the moderate demand in 1860 that slavery be not further extended. If the insatiable greed of the money lenders is still to run riot as it has done for twenty-seven years past, and there is to be no let up of the avarice of the gold owners—if there is no hope of compromise with the enemy—then we must and will cut the Gordian knot—we must and will abolish specie.

The gold monopolists will, if possible, bring on a civil war rather than let go their hold. We must be on our watchful guard to prevent this. The only peaceful way out of our bondage is by organization, combination and unity of action. To be explicit: The Farmers' Alliance, the Grange and the Wheel must be made to comprehend the entire agricultural interest, north and south, east and west. The Knights of Labor and Trades Unions must bring within their circles all the wage earners. The great mining associations interested in developing the silver resources of the Rocky Mountain states and territories must be organized for aggressive work. These associations of American toilers—farmers, wage workers and silver producers, must join hands. They must convene in joint assemblage. They must state plainly their demands, and then compel the existing parties to “fall in” or submit to be annihilated.

That is my remedy. We need not propose to build up a “new party.” That will take care of itself. When once a majority of the voters of America combine—as in 1871 they did combine in the Grange—and agree upon any one thing to be achieved, that thing will be achieved. The Grange produced a revolution in the decisions of courts. Before that time the voice of railroad corporations was the voice of a deity that seemed omnipotent. Since that time the railroad corporations have not been omnipotent.‡ To-day the voice of the bank-

per cent of \$1,600,000,000. This amount put in circulation as loans at 10 per cent, equals \$160,000,000 interest which, as \$16,000,000, equals \$144,000,000 gain. This is hardly fair to Uncle Sam as a partner in the business. For printing the bills, punishing counterfeiters, paying the expense of inaugurating and protecting the business of national banking, he receives \$16,000,000 while the “middle-man” standing between him and the people, and who could very well be dispensed with, receives \$160,000,000! Of course the banker by selling his bonds at 127 per cent and lending the proceeds at 8 and 10 per cent might do equally as well. But there is no use of this high price of bonds and money.

‡Before the ink is hardly dry of the above comes the report of the ruling of the U. S. Supreme court in the Minnesota railroad rate law case, which nullifies and reverses the decisions of former courts in the noted granger cases, and remands the farmers again to slavery to the cor-

ing corporations is the voice of a god no less seemingly omnipotent. Let that Moloch be cast down in the same way that the railroad idol was overthrown—by united action of the awakened producers.

## IX. THE DAWN OF A NEW DAY.

The great movement that will disenfranchise the American producers has already begun.

ST. LOUIS, MO., Dec. 6, 1889.—Agreement made this day by and between the undersigned committees representing the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union on the one part and the undersigned committee representing the Knights of Labor on the other part.

Witnesseth: The undersigned committee, representing the Knights of Labor, having read the demands of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, which are embodied in this agreement, hereby endorse the same on behalf of the Knights of Labor, and for the purpose of giving practical effect to the demands herein set forth, the legislative committees of both organizations will act in concert before Congress for the purpose of securing the enactment of laws in harmony with the demands mutually agreed.

And it is further agreed, that in order to carry out these objects, we will support for office only such men as can be depended upon to enact these principles into statute law uninfluenced by party caucus.

The demands are as follows:

1. That we demand the abolition of national banks, and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes in lieu of national bank notes, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system; regulating the amount needed on a per capita basis as the business interests of the country expand; and that all money issued by the government shall be legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

2. That we demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; preserving a stringent system of procedure of trial as shall secure the prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

3. That we demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

corporations. The work of packing the Supreme Court to favor railroad and banking corporations has been going on for twenty years, until now the federal court is as devoted to king monopoly as was the notorious Jeffries devoted to King James the Second of England, over two hundred years ago. Nothing short of the utter destruction of the railroad corporations and the institution of government ownership of the highways of traffic will insure the people against extortion and robbery, and settle the railroad question satisfactorily and permanently.

4. That we demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take early steps to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

5. Believing in the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," we demand that taxation, National or State, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

We believe the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all revenues, National, State or County, shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

6. That Congress issue a sufficient amount of fractional paper currency to facilitate exchange through the medium of the United States mail.

7. That the means of communication and transportation shall be owned by and operated in the interest of the people, as is the United States postal system.

For the better protection of the interests of the two organizations, it is mutually agreed that such seals or emblems as the National Alliance and Industrial Union of America will adopt will be recognized and protected in transit or otherwise by the Knights of Labor, and that all seals and labels of the Knights of Labor will, in like manner, be recognized by the members of the N. F. A. and I. U. A.

(Signed)

U. S. Hall,	S. B. Irwin, Chm.
J. D. Hammond,	J. D. Hatfield,
F. M. Blunt,	S. B. Alexander,
B. H. Clover,	D. K. Nonis,
M. Page,	Stump Ashby,
J. K. Miles,	R. F. Peck,
W. H. Barton,	R. C. Betty,
N. A. Dunning,	W. S. Morgan,
M. Adams,	J. H. Turner,
	A. S. Mann.

Who compose the Committee on Demands of the N. F. A. and I. U.

T. V. Powderly,  
A. W. Wright,  
Ralph Beaumont,

Representing Knights of Labor.

I consider this movement the most important that has taken place in our country for more than a quarter of a century. Let the people, north and south, rally round the old flag and repeat in concert of song:

"Though many and bright the stars that appear

In that flag by our country unfurled;  
And the stripes that are swelling in majesty there  
Like a rainbow adorning the world;  
Their light is unsullied, as those in the sky,  
By a deed that our fathers have done;  
And they're leagued in as true and as holy a tie,  
In their motto of "Many in One."

We are "Many in one" while there exists a star:  
In the blue of the heavens above;  
And tyrants shall quail 'mid their dungeons afar,  
When they gaze on that motto of love,  
It shall gleam on the sea, mid the bolts of the  
storm—

Over tempest, and battle, and wreck—  
And flame where our guns with their thunder  
grow warm,  
'Neath the blood on the slippery deck.

The oppressed of the earth to that standard shall  
fly,

Wherever its folds shall be spread:  
And the exile shall feel 'tis his own native sky  
Where its stars shall float over his head:  
And those stars shall increase till the fulness of  
time

Its million of cycles has run—  
Till the world shall have welcomed its mission  
sublime

And the nations of earth shall be one.

Then up with our flag! Let it stream on the air!  
Though our fathers are cold in their graves,  
They had hands that could strike—they had souls  
that could dare,

And their sons were not born to be slaves!!  
Up, up with that banner! Where'er it may call,  
Our millions shall rally around;  
And a nation of Freemen that moment shall fall  
When its stars shall be trailed on on the ground.

—CUTLER.

#### X. THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

Long after this book had gone to press and most of it had been put in print, Senator Leland Stanford of California submitted the following resolution, which was read on the 10th of March, 1890, in the United States senate:

"Whereas, there is a stringency in money and much consequent distress, the energies of the country being depressed, large portions of the farming communities heavily burdened and struggling for relief; and

Whereas, the United States government is alone authorized to make money which shall be a legal tender, whether it be by stamp upon paper, silver, or gold; and

Whereas the value of the three commodities when used as money depends entirely upon the stamp of the government making it a legal tender; and

Whereas, it has been found that the money advanced by the government upon its own bonds to the holders thereof has furnished the best and most acceptable currency, through which to-day in our country most of the exchanges are made; and

Whereas, the present stringency is largely due to the retirement of government bonds, which have been so largely the basis of our circulating medium; and

Whereas, it is of great consequence to national and individual interests that credit should be established, where merited, as far as is safe and practicable; and

Whereas, the government can do this abundantly, without risk to itself, upon much of the property of the country, as it is now doing upon its own bonds, on which it is paying interest; and

Whereas, loans upon a property basis would furnish all the money needed with-

out cost to the government, and a fair interest paid by the borrower would give to the government for the use of its credits in bills a large income; Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire what relief may be furnished by the United States government, and particularly whether loans may not be made by the government upon mortgages deposited with it upon real estate, independent of improvements, at such rate and to such an amount only as will make the security to the government perfect, the government to receive some small rate of interest, from 1 to 2 per cent ample compensation for the use of its credit, and to prevent the undue applications for loans beyond the needs of the country. And the government, as further restraint and provision against an over-issue (if such a thing be possible upon perfect security, where the interest is very slight), shall provide to call in a percentage of its loans, from time to time, upon reasonable notice, as it may deem necessary, at its own discretion, for the welfare of the nation."

No man can read Senator Stanford's remarks that accompanied the resolution of the San Francisco *Argonaut*, and a report of an interview by the without being convinced of his disinterested patriotism. Like Wendell Phillips, and like Peter Cooper, his love of humanity is paramount.

"I am myself," he says, "a working-man; my interests run in common with labor. I was born to the inheritance of industrial pursuits. My sympathies are with the class from which I came."

That the senator has in view to relieve the people from the burden of debt and enable the many to own their farms still—his own words go to prove. He says:

"If, without bearing interest, this currency could be used for the retiring of an interest-bearing mortgage, it would serve a useful purpose, nor would it operate as a hardship to the payee, because he could use lawful money in the thousand active employments to which the money-lender knows so well how to avail himself."

I have no hope that the people will obtain any relief from the present Congress. The resolution offered by the patriotic senator from California will not be passed. But it will stand as a new Declaration of Independence. The issue between capital and labor is being made up. It will be found that it is not protective tariff or free trade; but *finance*.

Senator Stanford sees the time near at hand when the Wall and Lombard street money power shall cease to rule. He says:

"When it shall be understood that money is to be issued by Government for the benefit of the great class of producers who demand it for industrial

purposes, and that it is not created for the benefit of usurers to sweat it, and of gamblers to risk it, and of misers to hoard it, of millionaires to accumulate it, and spendthrifts to distribute it in the gratification of their luxurious tastes, then some of the errors which now pervade the whole financial system will have been dissipated, and the uses of money will be much better understood. Then the Congress of the United States will not look to Wall street and national bankers, successful money-kings, and successful plutocrats alone for their advice as to what kind of money should be used or what volume should be put

forth. When this reformation shall take place, then some successful manufacturer or merchant, some intelligent mechanic, some broad-minded business man, some planter, farmer, fruit-grower, or laborer, may be invited to hold the portfolio of the Treasurer, or, better than that, some wise economist who understands and appreciates financial laws in their broader comprehension, may be asked to preside at the head of a Department and give an annual report, which states all the facts, and not suppress or misrepresent any economic truth in the interest of the money class."

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## IN MEMORY

OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM E. HOUSTON, OF D 2D IOWA INF. AND E 23D  
IOWA INF. VOL

---

Sweetly the current of thy life  
Flowed on until the drum and fife  
Gave notice of the cruel strife—  
The Upas shade  
That made a widow of the wife—  
Forlorn the maid.

I saw thee seize thy trusty gun  
When that most wicked deed was done  
That forced the gallant Anderson  
To yield the fort;—  
"Our flag assailed! and war begun!"  
Dire, dire report.

See Tuttle lead his valiant band  
Of stalwart braves—flower of the land;—  
Upon the heights they take their stand,  
Of Donalson—  
They fight the Rebel hand to hand  
And gun to gun.

Thou (then a private in the line)  
Strove in the onset to outshine  
The bravest of that troop divine,  
Pride of our State—  
Where all were grand (oh, rash design!)  
Ours great the great.

There life-blood flowed, (a crimson tide),  
Of comrades fallen by thy side—  
There Weeks and Doty nobly died;—  
The Rebel yell  
And Rebel bullets they defied  
And Death and Hell.

But Shiloh's saddest Sabbath day  
Beheld thee bleed without dismay,  
While Tuttle's veterans survey  
The horrid field;  
They stand where columns melt away:  
They will not yield.

New-gilded epaule's thou'et won;  
A blade displaces thy loved gun;—  
Black river crimsoned!—we're undone!—  
For Kinsman falls!—  
But thou criest, "On till Pemberton!"  
For quarter calls!

Brave heart of Oak! Thou would'st not bend,  
But stood unyielding to the end,  
Beheld the Rebel flag descend  
From Spanish Fort—  
Gave all; gave health—gave life,—O Friend,  
A good report.

Undying be thy well-earned fame;  
Remembered always be thy name,  
Because, brave boy, thy breast of flame  
Was bared to save  
Thy country's glorious flag from shame—  
Free see it wave!

While still it floats o'er land and sea;  
Flag of the brave, flag of the free,  
Let flowers be strewn in memory  
Of Martyred dead—  
And, patriot, thy grave shall be  
With garlands spread.

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## ESSAY XVII.—THE VITAL ISSUE:

BRITISH GOLD VERSUS AMERICAN LABOR, OR FRAUDS OF FINANCE.

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### A LECTURE

*Delivered in Des Moines, Iowa, March 28; 1881.*

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"BOSTON, Sept 12, 1881.

DEAR SIR—I have received and read your essay on the 'Vital Issue' with great interest. Its arguments are closely woven and very satisfactory, your facts marshalled in logical order and they march now on your reader with overwhelming power.

I rejoice to see these young minds in the ranks of a cause so momentous in its importance as that of the Nation's taking its currency into its own control.

Yours Respectfully, WENDELL PHILLIPS."

Hoodwinking the masses is the last desperate resort of the "rich man" to hold labor in subjection in the United States, and pocket the fruits of toil through the manipulation of cash, instead of lash. Cash is now king. How long, O Lord! how long before this king shall also be dethroned as was king Lash? May this cruel tyrant be put down by the potent ballot and may the bloody bullet be not again invoked in settling the strife between the many and the few, the toilers and the drones, the people and their plunderers!

## I. THE RESUMPTION FRAUD.

A bill was passed by our Congress in 1869 to "strengthen the public credit" just at a time when our country stood in no more immediate need of credit than a well man does of medicine; but was (it is claimed) "rapidly paying off her bonded indebtedness." Why was not this "credit-strengthening act" passed during the war when our country was getting into debt and needed to have her credit strengthened? The fact is, the title of the bill is a fraud and a lie. The public credit has not been strengthened; but the burden of debt has been more than quadrupled on the shoulders of the American people. The title of the bill should rather have been: "A bill to increase the burden of debt and to transfer the wealth from the hands of the producing and laboring classes of the United States into the hands of the money-lenders—the Rothschilds of Europe and their agents in Wall street.

(1) The people are the public; the credit of the people is the public credit. Healthful national credit must stand on the same footing as that of the individuals of the nation. The credit of the people has been greatly weakened by a policy of government that has diminished the value of the products of labor and productive property upon which credit (national and individual) can alone be rightly founded. Any other foundation of credit is only enslavement of labor. The foundation being removed the superstructure, of course, falls to the ground. The foundation of the credit of the people is labor, the products of labor and real estate. Destroy their value and credit based upon their value is clearly overthrown. From 1862 to 1869 a farmer could borrow more money upon his prospective crop without giving a note of hand than he can borrow even now (it is not much amiss to say) upon this and all his personal property and real estate with notes and mortgage on top; for all productive property and labor and products of labor have had the bulk of the value squeezed out of them and this value has been squeezed into money (as Solon Chase expresses it) until the late secretary of treasury, the Hon. John Sherman, proclaimed that

the "purchasing power of the dollar has been increased by resumption sixty per cent."—which means that all productive property and labor and products of labor are sixty per cent. cheaper to-day, compared with money, than they were before resumption began in 1869, and therefore, the burden of the public debt is sixty per cent greater.

The immediate effect was to render labor and production unprofitable, as Mr. Sherman himself forewarned the people that it would do. Factories and farms not paying running expenses, the factories closed doors, the wheels of manufacturing stopped and the "operatives" were set adrift to wander as tramps, the nation losing during the period billions of dollars by the falling off of production; but farming had to go on with immense loss to the farmers as a class—mortgages on the farms the inevitable result, so that now, even in Iowa, the richest garden of the green and bountiful earth, instead of there being, as President Garfield says, "A prosperity without a parallel in our history," behold and consider the farms under mortgage, positively asserted by well informed persons, after careful inquiry and examination of records to be at least calculation, *one-half*! This was not so ten years ago. The farmers were then out of debt, or, at least (to speak in homely phrase) the hole to get out of debt at was larger than the hole to get in debt at, but resumption opened wider the hole to get in debt at and plugged up the hole to get out of debt at.

The wonderful prosperity "without a parallel in our history," (labor pretty generally employed, though strikes an every-day occurrence, tramps seen no more on our highways, a slight advance in the price of farm products; but nothing like so high as in 1865, far below the point of deliverance for the debt-burdened farmer) has been brought about by only a moderate inflation of the currency, the result of an influx of gold from famine-stricken Europe and an increase of bank circulation, a wave that may at any moment subside and leave the ship of our present prosperity stranded high and dry upon the rocks. The usurers control in a great measure even now, in this country, the supply of currency, the national banks having nearly 350 million dollars of their paper afloat. When they find it necessary or expedient in order to advance their sordid and selfish schemes and robber designs, these banks withdraw their circulation. This they began to do the other day when interest on money immediately rose in New York City five hundred per cent., a panic, as on Black Friday, was imminent, caused by the sudden retirement of less than twenty million dollars national bank currency. Mr. Sherman, the secretary of the treasury, at once hastened to the rescue of his imperiled "resumption," purchas-

ing on the market, with greenbacks, twenty-five million dollars government bonds; thus a great financial crash, like that of 1873 was prevented. The people are between the jaws of a huge crocodile. There is nothing to hinder its crushing and grinding their bones to pieces between its teeth at any moment. This reptile is national banking and specie resumption.

It was evidently known to the money-lenders of both hemispheres that resumption would force the people of the United States into excessive indebtedness, as it did the people of England after the long war, when the number of land owners on the island of Britain was reduced from 300 thousand to 30 thousand, and millions of her people were made bankrupt and forced into exile to find new homes in the American wilderness, as all readers of history well know. Hence the trust and loan agencies representing largely British capital, became as numerous in our country, and especially in the rich West as green flies on a dead carcass in June or July.\* Even in advance of the general demand for money here did the trust and loan agencies swarm upon this doomed land. If the unfortunate farmer had not money in bank when the resumption robbery began, he was driven into debt to keep up necessary farm expenses (taxes, fencing, machinery, etc.) It is conceded that the mortgage on the farm may be traced, now and then to bad management on the part of the individual farmer; but this cannot be put down as the rule, that bad management on the part of the farmers puts the farming class in debt; for the farmers are men of at least, average good sense. Honest in their intentions they are slow to believe in the dishonesty of others, otherwise they could not have been so hoodwinked by the money monopolists who now control legislation at Washington, as to be led to acquiesce in a policy of government so oppressive to the farming and producing interests.

The Old Testament history shows that, at one time, the Jewish people "mortgaged their lands, vineyards and houses that they might buy corn because of the dearth." The reason why the people of our country mortgaged their lands, vineyards and houses, was the dearth of money produced intentionally and with "malice aforethought" by legislators, at the dictation of European money lenders for the purpose of confiscating the estates of our people and giving them a bonus to the owners of gold, thus opening the way here for "bonanza farming" on an immense scale, and making the farmers in this country hereafter renters, as in the old world, and labor

the obedient slave of capital. This was no secret, even during the progress of contraction; but was openly avowed by the capitalists through the leading metropolitan newspapers, both Republican and Democratic—that give voice not to the purposes and desires of the people, but only to those of the "rich man." It must come, said the *New York Times* (Republican) a change of ownership of the soil and a creation of a class of land owners on the one hand and of tenant farmers on the other—something similar to what has long existed in the older countries of Europe." And the *New York World* (Democratic) said: "The American laborer must make up his mind not to be so much better off than the European laborer. Men must be content to work for less wages. In this way the working man will be nearer that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him."

(2) The public credit is not strengthened; for, if another war were upon us, as in 1861, can any man say that the government credit would be better now than it was from 1861 to 1865?"

"If any, speak! for him have I offended." The money monopolists, it is evident, would do as they did before, combine to run the nation's credit down and to run the price of gold up so that they could reap another rich harvest from the misfortunes of our beloved country. They are only a banditti—and the sooner the people realize this truth the better. Let mankind combine against the money power as the money power have combined against mankind. Let the people protect themselves against their greatest enemy—the money sharks.

Bonds are increased in their market value because it requires for their payment sixty per cent. more of products than was originally contracted; and it is products that pay all debts. One dollar's worth of bond is worth almost two dollar's worth of wheat. The user gets almost twice as much for his bond as he is in justice and equity entitled to, of grain, pork and beef—also of lands; houses, beasts of burden, mills, factories, machinery, goods of every kind and description—books, paintings and every other handiwork, useful or ornamental. In proportion as labor is enslaved do the few find it easy to seize upon the products of labor. Is our country free to-day? No. Why not? Because millionaires are hatched out here. They are incubated only through slavery. Bad laws and bad institutions turn over to the few the proceeds of the labor of the many. Good laws and good institutions would prevent this.

Capital is labor's products. It is perishable. Let labor cease and how long will capital remain? Ten years of universal idleness would render this world a waste. What now exists of labor's products will soon not be; so we will not quarrel

\*The most magnificent "business block" in Des Moines, just completed (1887) belongs to the Iowa Loan and Trust Company.

about what now exists. What shall be produced by toil hereafter should belong to its creators, the toilers. This is our thesis. This we maintain is a reasonable demand. Let the laborer be not robbed of the fruits of his labor and all wealth will remain with the strong of arm who produce it. Stop "dividing up;" cease taking from the many by law and giving to the few, and the working bees will soon own and control all the honey, and the drones will be hurried outside the hive hungry. All is in a nutshell when it is remembered that capital is only labor's products, perishable, passing quickly away, to be renewed by toil, and that money is only a tool designed to aid production.

The cheaper the money tool the better for producers, and it should, at least, cost them as little as it costs bankers—passing directly from the government to them without interest, as it does to the banks. It is possible to dam up the channels through which products flow into the hands of idlers—the "tally ho" of eastern cities. These channels are the monopolies. Let "anti-monopoly" be the watch-word of all toilers and the day of labor's triumph draws nigh.

The many serve the few through the wage system, land monopoly, corporate monopoly, and the bond system. The screws are turned by these giant powers and the wine is pressed out of the people's grapes for the exhilaration and profit of the man in "purple and fine linen who fares sumptuously every day" and at whose gate Lazarus begs. The people are helpless as sheep before the shearer in the presence of the great engines of corporate tyranny, especially of the two thousand national banks that manipulate the bonds. Four per cent. brings as much of labor and products of labor now as a much larger per cent. did ten years ago (an end aimed at and secured by resumption and gold payment) and the principal of the bonds being made payable in "specie" by an *ex post facto* law (clearly unconstitutional) is enhanced in value beyond the ability of the people to pay for many years to come—a continuous mortgage on the nation's wealth—sucking the life blood out of production for the benefit of a robber class destitute of patriotism, and given over to one passion alone—insatiable avarice.

(3) What then is the nation's boasted credit to-day? Certainly not the funding of matured five and six per cent. bonds, by a "solemn contract" made payable in lawful money (greenbacks) into four per cent. thirty year bonds, payable in gold or its equivalent? No, not this.

"Harken that ye may the better hear!" It is the stupendous lie that government has borrowed for thirty years 175 million dollars gold of the European syndicates at four per cent. annual interest.

The government has "borrowed" not one dollar of gold. We have indeed agreed to pay 385 million dollars gold for 175 million dollars greenbacks; and this, in truth, is the whole sum of our boasted credit! "Let facts be submitted to a candid world." "Gold (175 million dollars) has been placed on deposit in the government safe *on call*, the syndicates having it in their power as all men know, to withdraw, in exchange for greenbacks "presented for redemption" every dollar of this gold from the national treasury at any moment by a click of the telegraph instrument. The late secretary of the treasury, Mr. Sherman denominates greenbacks "gold certificates." Wall street has this gold right under its thumb. Greenbacks are advertised by government authority "redeemable in gold at the sub-treasury in New York in sums of fifty dollars and upwards." Will any man dare say that the money power cannot command and present for redemption 175 million dollars greenbacks, when even the national banks profess to be able to retire instantaneously 200 million dollars of their circulation by *depositing greenbacks in the United States Treasury to that amount*.

These bullionists act in concert the world over. They are united as one man. Wall street is the head-centre, in this country, of the syndicates of the old world. It is understood that the syndicates can and will remove this gold from the United States treasury whenever they please to do so; and, it is clear, that they will please to do so whenever they lose control of our government. These millions of gold will not remain on deposit in the national treasury, in all probability, ten years longer; for the people will certainly, ere then, awaken to see the situation and will as certainly throw off the yoke of their foreign masters as our fathers did that of George III, in 1775, establishing a legal-tender basis for money, demonetizing gold and silver and wiping out the stupendous robbery denominated the national debt.

For the 175 million dollars gold placed by the syndicates on deposit in the government safe *on call* for greenbacks, the government has given four per cent thirty year bonds, interest and principal payable in "specie," which Mr. Sherman defines to mean "gold or its equivalent." Interest on these to matu-

urity .....	\$210,000,000
Face of bonds.....	175,000,000
Total.....	\$385,000,000

gold paid by the people to "redeem" 175 million dollars greenbacks!

In the same fraudulent way the people are made to give in "gold or its equivalent" 185 million dollars for silver to displace for twenty years 50 million dollars fractional paper currency—three

dollars and fifty cents gold equivalent for each dollar of paper money.

Bonds.....	\$50,000,000
Int. 5 per cent. 30 years.....	75,000,000
Silver worn out in 20 years,	50,000,000

Total.....\$175,000,000

The silver coin will be worn out and gone ten years before the bonds become due. As the holder of a sinecure in England is paid a large salary, or a "star route" contractor in our country "reaps where he has not sown," so do we rent at great cost imaginary silver. To keep 50 million dollars silver currency actually afloat until the thirty year bonds become due, will require

Bonded debt (additional), \$	50,000,000
Int. 10 years "	25,000,000
Silver worn out "	25,000,000
Add previous expenditure,	175,000,000

Total.....\$275,000,000

or five dollars and fifty cents "gold equivalent" for each dollar displaced of fractional paper money. The length of time silver coin in actual use as a currency is estimated to last is only twenty years, on a principle of reckoning similar to that which places the average life of man at thirty-six years. Some men, however, live to be a hundred years old and some silver coins are very ancient. Fifty million dollars silver coin to last a century for a currency will cost, on the Sherman plan

30 year bonds (5 issues 50 million dollars each).....	\$250,000,000
Interest 150 years.....	375,000,000
Silver worn out in 100 years	250,000,000

Total.....\$875,000,000

to take the place of 50 million dollars fractional paper money, a better money than silver and that costs only the price of the paper and the printing—not so much as even the coinage of the silver—seventeen dollars and fifty cents "specie" (gold equivalent) for each dollar of paper money. This is a fair sample of the whole resumption cheat.

The government gives 210 million dollars bonus to European capitalists to induce them to deposit with our government 175 million dollars gold, to remain on deposit in the the government safe just so long as the syndicates that deposit it please to allow, and to be drawn out by them at their discretion in redemption of non-interest-bearing greenbacks at par, the government paying interest on the gold say, at least, twenty years after the syndicates have got it all back in their own vaults in exchange for greenbacks, 385 million dollars gold paid for 175 million dollars greenbacks—two dollars and twenty cents gold for each dollar greenback money.

At one time during the war, the patriotic bullion owners bid one dollar gold

for two dollars and eighty-five cents, greenbacks, investing in greenbacks at that price, they said, "to make some monish." Now the grateful government "resumes," giving the bullion owners two dollars and twenty cents gold for each of at least 175 million dollars greenbacks "to strengthen the public credit."

## II. THE NATIONAL BANKING FRAUD.

Let us now look at the national banking fraud.

The notes of these banks are said to be "redeemable." This saying is a lie. They are declared by law "receivable at par in all parts of the United States in payment of all taxes and excises and all other dues to the United States except duties on imports, and also for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States to individuals, corporations and associations within the United States, except interest on public debt." And the statute also expressly declares these notes "money." Why was this endorsement given them by the government? Being thus endorsed, declared to be "money," and forced into circulation, paid out to certain creditors of the nation ["honest," must we say, "to pay those creditors national bank "money;" "dishonest" to pay bond owners greenbacks!] and received in payment of public dues by the authority of law, renders national bank bills practically identical as money with greenbacks in which they are pretended to be redeemable.

National bank bills are no more redeemable than are silver and gold. They are interchangeable at par for other forms of money. Trade dollars are not thus interchangeable because not legal tender. It is clearly not optional with government, "individuals, corporations and associations" to "receive" national bank bills or not when presented or tendered in payment of taxes and debts as the law directs. They are, by law, compelled to receive and not refuse them. Law lays down a rule binding every day, every hour, every minute and every second until repealed. Therefore until the statute (speaking the nation's voice repealing this robber law) says "refusable," the bank bills must circulate as fiat money, and never return upon the issuer. It is a huge sham to talk of one money being redeemable in another money—the one being made as good by legal endorsement as the other. Legal-tender and *quasi* legal tender may be interchangeable, but not redeemable, interchangeableness being the result of par value, not par value the result of interchangeableness. No man will ever be so idiotic as to present a national bank bill for "redemption" in greenbacks with the expectation of obtaining a better money thereby while the bank

bill continues "receivable", for taxes, salaries, etc.

The authors of this measure to conceal their selfish purpose, devised a cunning cheat, procuring congress to place upon the bank bills the word "receivable" instead of the word "legal tender." Worthless non-interest-bearing notes—the credit of private corporations, they had government endorse and make practically legal-tender under cover of the word "receivable." "Grave doubts" have never been entertained by the national bankers, nor by their accredited agents in the presidential chair (it would seem) of the power of congress to do this. It is (we must conclude) in their opinion "constitutional" for congress to enact that national bank bills "shall be receivable at par in all parts of the United States in payment of all taxes and excises and all other dues to the United States, except duties on imports, and also for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States to individuals, corporations and associations within the United States, except interest on public debt." But to bestow precisely this same tax-paying and debt-paying quality and power on greenbacks, the credit of the government, "grave doubts are entertained whether it is warranted by the constitution," say they. The national banking corporations have issued their ukase and three successive presidents of the United States in the role of heralds have proclaimed it: "*The greenback must be destroyed.*" Then will the money lenders have the people completely in their power and all business under a deadfall. The banking and creditor class may spring the trigger, crush all industries and bankrupt society at pleasure, gathering all the property of the debtor class into their possession.

The endorsement of government clearly monetizes the national bank bills, equalizes them with greenbacks in money quality for the payments named in the law and for all other payments, since no one will refuse that "money" which the government of his country accepts, without it may be the national bankers themselves who, having this license, will use it when it shall be to their interest to do so. Who will present an axe to be redeemed in another axe no better than the one to be redeemed? The axes might be interchangeable if equally good, it being then indifferent which axe one had to work with,—interchangeable because equally good, not equally good because interchangeable. A distinction with a marked difference. Nick badly one of the axes, leaving the other sharp, and they are no longer interchangeable the one for the other indifferently. The sharp axe will be taken by the workmen every time and the dull axe left behind. Nick the greenback, deprive it of legal

tender quality, as President Garfield asked Congress to do, and no man will take greenbacks when bank bills can be had that have the word "receivable" stamped upon them by law—take away "receivable" from the bank bills, as the people should compel their servants—the law makers at Washington—immediately to do, and no one will take bank bills when greenbacks marked "legal-tender" can be obtained.

But let Congress attempt to demonetize the national bank bills and the national bankers will protest against it loudly, unless the greenbacks are demonetized at the same time. They will not oppose the demonetization of the national bank bills after the greenbacks have all been destroyed; for they have so declared in resolution at Saratoga; since, to deprive the people of all debt-paying, tax-paying paper money would render them still more powerless and dependent upon usurers. Nothing but specie paying taxes and debts, and the banks cornering the specie they would hold the people tightly in hand and well under the yoke. Bank paper would still circulate; for the people must have a paper currency and "wild cat" is preferable to no paper money at all. Legal tender paper afloat, bank notes could not by any means have been palmed upon the people during the war but for their endorsement by government. This is the reason why "receivable" was printed on the bills. Government endorsement was essential to the bank note then, because the greenback existed and while the greenback continues to exist it is essential still. Bank paper cannot survive and float beside the greenback a day without being *quasi* legal tender—a greenback in disguise, but a thief and a robber in fact and in deed. The reason why old style bank notes ever floated as a currency is, clearly, the superiority of paper money over metal money in convenience. The people were willing to take risks and receive bank paper solely because of the inconvenience of handling specie. It was a price paid for convenient money that every dollar of wildcat paper did not hasten immediately back to the banks for redemption in coin. Nobody wanted coin if paper could be had that was passable, and nobody wants coin to-day, as Mr. Sherman himself admits.

The bond-owners are clamoring for the demonetization of the greenbacks so that bank bills may be the only paper money of our country and the lords and gods of the United States be forever the national bankers. Says the *New York Mercantile Journal*: "The national bank managers insist upon retaining power to regulate the volume of the currency at their pleasure, and without any restriction from the laws under which banks are organized. Twenty years ago the government could have as logically

surrendered its capital to the rebels, as Congress can now surrender this power to the banks or to any particular class of its citizens." Did not the banks threaten the government and the nation the other day with a contraction of the currency that would destroy all business, and did not President Hays get down on his coward knees to them and veto the refunding bill at their dictation? and does not President Garfield say: "The refunding of the national debt at a low rate of interest should be accomplished without compelling the withdrawal of the national bank notes and thus disturbing the business of the country."—"Compelling!"—the banks hold over the heads of the people the threat of "retiring their circulation" to *compel them* to yield to the wicked demands of soulless corporations, mad as were the slave buyers before the war and as determined to rule or ruin.

But each and every national bank bill would be "retired from circulation" by the people themselves, "pass to the bourne whence no traveler returns"—be spurned as they ought to be now under our feet, if they were not "receivable" for public dues, etc., but depended for value on redeemability in legal-tender paper money. Having no superiority over greenbacks in convenience (as old style bank paper had over specie) and being no longer "receivable," bank bills would not be in any demand when greenbacks could be obtained. National bank bills are practically an "irredeemable" currency, there being no difference in their nature from greenbacks in a legal sense—even exempt from taxation as a form of "government credits" the same as greenbacks. The points of difference are these: their tremendous expensiveness to the people and the sham pretense of being an "innocent note payable in greenbacks on demand." They are a lie, a cheat, a wholesaler robbery of the people, a confiscation (at oneswoop) of 350 million dollars of the nation's wealth and its bestowal gratis on the bond-owning class—and this last statement will bear repeating until public attention is awakened to the enormity of the wrong.

It is worthy of special note that while bank bills are practically legal-tender in payment of public dues, salaries of officials as postmasters, etc., for soldiers pay and pension of disabled "boys in blue" and their widows and orphans—for wages of all laborers employed on public works—carpenters, masons, hod-carriers, etc.,—to canal, railroad and ship-companies for transportation of troops, munitions of war and carrying the mails—to manufacturing companies in payment for powder, balls, pistols, guns, cannons, and all other war implements and material—to merchants for clothing, and to farmers for provisions for army and navy—to ship builders in payment

for monitors and other ships of war—yet they are not "receivable" by the bankers themselves as a class for what the people owe them. And the government, too, is choked off from paying the national bankers in their own "money" the interest on the very bonds that are the basis of the banking fraud. Each banker is obliged to accept only his own individual currency from the people and not national bank bills in general—and from the government not even his own individual bank notes as interest on bonds, which "shall be paid in coin."

Who dictated the passage of this despicable act, exempting the national banking class from the necessity of taking bank "money" and forcing it on government and individuals? The people never dictated the passage of any such preposterous law; but only the brazen-faced national bankers themselves. The national bankers have been presented a bonus of 350 million dollars tax-paying, debt-paying "money"—a virtual confiscation, (I again affirm) of 350 million dollars of the people's property and the giving of the same gratis to a class of men able to live without being thus supported as paupers by lavish taxation and sweeping robbery of the producing class. Giving away the checks for property is the same thing in effect as giving away the property itself that the checks will buy—a wholesale confiscation (let us ever bear in mind) of 350 million dollars of the people's property and its bestowal gratis on the bond-owning class—"communism," indeed of the most hateful type; for it is robbing the poor to give to the rich. Give me the checks for all the property of the nation and all the property of the nation is mine, as when I have a sheriff's deed for your farm it is mine. Let prices rise or fall, it is no matter, I can command all things for sale. Let the farmer be deluded with an apparent high price for his grain, pork and beef, in consequence of an inflation of bank bills—it is only a delusion—the grain, and pork and beef are the bankers who have received as a gratuity from government the checks that must command the surplus products and the labor of the land. Inflation of bank bills and consequent advanced prices of labor and products, are no sign of prosperity of producers and laborers as a class, but mark only the issuance by government gratuitously to bond owners of so many more checks for property and labor—the confiscation of so much more of the wealth of the country and its bestowal gratis on the bond-owning class. The bond owners have only to present the checks that cost them nothing and walk off with the property. Let the government legalize counterfeiting as it has legalized national banking and it would be no greater, but only the very same wrong

to labor. And let it give into the hands of a few counterfeiters the monopoly of issuing an unlimited amount of counterfeit paper money, the government endorsing this paper as it does national bank bills, (which are in fact, only counterfeit money legalized); let these monopolists issue at once 350 million dollars of this "sham money" made as good as gold by legal endorsement—the same as national bank notes are. Times will, of course, become flush, because of the abundance of this counterfeit currency; and shallow observers and interested liars and deceivers of the people will gloat over the "wonderful prosperity" of the country, as they do now. But the fact will ever remain incontrovertible, as it is to-day, under national banking, that the ownership of 350 million dollars worth of property thus passes from the many to the few—from the people to the counterfeiters. Thus are national banking (legalized counterfeiting) and its results seen to-day in our country.

What a tremendous advantage this robber system gives British capital over American labor! British capitalists through their agents establish and control the principal money corporations in America. It is British capital under specie basis and national banking that moves and controls through Wall Street; all the great operations of business and exchange on this continent. By giving up the legal-tender greenback, we abdicate power, surrender sovereignty, become vassals and slaves of England—paying tribute to her moneyed aristocracy beyond all that is exacted by her from India, Africa, Australia, Canada, and all her other colonies and possessions, and far beyond the wildest dreams and expectations of George III, and the fears that led our fathers into the war of the Revolution—the annual drain on American production—for interest alone even now, being (as will be more fully shown before the close of this lecture) not less than 1,300 million dollars!

An English writer lately said: "The large capital of England is the most essential weapon now remaining by which our (England's) supremacy can be maintained." And the *London Economist* adds: "When the United States debt is paid off it will, in effect, be a subtraction from the profits of European capital equal to an income tax of three shillings in the pound." How true are the words of Mr. Winder, who, in his testimony before the monetary commission of the Forty-fifth Congress, said: "The power of a creditor country over the currency, interest and welfare of a largely debtor country with convertible currency, is more searching, absolute and despotic than that of any tyrant that has ever plundered the people." And he further adds: "But the great, and transcendent wrong (and most absurd

violation of every principle of justice and political economy) was the change of payment of the bonds from greenbacks to coin. But it was of a piece with all the rest of the financial policy of our government, which seems to have been (as most assuredly it was) as wholly in favor of foreign interests and against American, as though our administration had been conducted exclusively by foreign cabinets."

The Old World has gold that has been, thousands of years, accumulating in the vaults of her banks through usury and the plundering of weak nations by force of arms in the interest of the lords "of cash." The New World has products that spring almost spontaneously from her virgin soil. It is evidently the cunning and hateful purpose of the Old World bullionists to absorb (or steal) the products of the New World through interest paid by us to them, for a thing we do not need, and really cannot use, *i. e., gold*. Suppose Mr. Sherman did, indeed, purchase in good faith with the four per cent thirty year bonds 175 million dollars British gold now in the treasury, intending it to be coined into currency to circulate in the channels of business here instead of legal tender greenbacks, until worn out—a very few years—not over fifteen; for gold being softer, wears out more readily than silver—the cost to the people will be a clean loss of

Bonded debt to be paid.....	\$175,000,000
Interest 30 years.....	210,000,000
Gold coin worn out.....	175,000,000

Total..... \$560,000,000

for the sake of having in circulation for fifteen years 175 million dollars gold coin in the place of 175 million dollars greenbacks. To keep this amount of gold currency in the channels of business here for thirty years on the Sherman plan, as above, will cost our people 1,120 million dollars; and for one hundred years 3,700 million dollars—a constant outflow of 37 million dollars yearly tribute to England, while greenbacks would cost comparatively nothing, saving to our industries nearly every dollar of this vast sum, which must be paid to European capitalists in our surplus products, wheat, corn, pork, beef, cotton and wool, etc., at gold prices—lower and lower as gold becomes scarcer and scarcer. \* \* \* Gold and silver must be "monetized" by legal exactment to be valid money the same as paper. But if paper money be furnished the people by the government after the plan of 1723, so highly approved by Dr. Franklin, it would be a source of revenue to our country.

But paper money is now, has been for many years and ever will be practically the only money of business. Let this be no longer issued as a loan without

interest by the government to bond-owners. National banking should be at once suppressed. If under this system we are not compelled as "individuals, corporations and associations" to borrow directly the foreigner's gold, we are compelled to borrow national bank bills, issued by our government gratis to the agents of British capitalists, who have invested their gold in American bonds. How completely, then, the national banking system and specie basis bring us into dependence upon foreign bullion owners for money, both paper and specie! We exchange government bonds for bullion to be coined into specie, and these same bonds are then made the basis of national banking—ninety per cent of their face value being returned to the bond purchaser by the government, in national bank money made as good as greenbacks by government endorsement—a free gift to the bond owners—one hundred thousand dollars, four, five or six per cent bonds, costing the banker only ten thousand dollars. Upon this small investment he draws from the production of our country four thousand, five thousand or six thousand dollars yearly interest.

Rather let the law say to every working man in America "Deposit your earnings in the money-order postoffice, receive from government four per cent annual interest on the same for thirty years, take back immediately from government ninety per cent in money as good as that you deposit—on the same terms that bond owners are given ninety per cent of the face value of their bonds in tax-paying, debt-paying money." Such appreciative attention to the interests of the toilers by the government would be a great boon to the industrious, going far to preserve in the hands of the working people the wealth produced by them. If the government must pay interest, let it be paid to American workers to stimulate production and aid producers, and not to British capitalists and their agents to be used by them to break down our government, as those capitalists attempted to do by openly assisting the South in the late war, for which England was compelled to make restitution to the United States for damages of sixteen and one-half million dollars. British capitalists are our enemies to-day, as they were during our civil strife. British aristocracy is the unrelenting foe of American democracy.

Why should not the toiler have the right to deposit even his ten dollars and draw upon it four per cent annual interest for thirty years, receiving also immediately from government nine dollars of currency, if the bondowner is allowed on his one hundred thousand dollars invested in bonds four per cent annual interest for thirty years and a bonus of ninety thousand dollars legal

paper "money?" Is not the ten dollars of the earnings of an American laborer as deserving of a bonus of nine dollars and four per cent annual interest for thirty years, as the one hundred thousand dollars of bond owners money, got by usury, is of a bonus of ninety thousand dollars and four per cent annual interest for thirty years? Let the toilers of our country demand equal rights under our laws with foreign capitalists and their Tory agents here that manipulate the government to sustain the national banking swindle.

Then (to show more clearly the superior possibilities and "advantages" of national banking, even on a small scale) the working man might, with a capital of only twenty dollars, deposit in the money-order postoffice ten dollars, receive back nine, deposit ten again, receive back nine, and going on in this way until he has not ten to deposit, he would have the government indebted to him one hundred and ten dollars, and yet have remaining nine of his original twenty dollars capital. This investment of only eleven dollars, would bring him four dollars and forty cents per annum interest, forty per cent, or in thirty years one hundred and thirty-two dollars, drawn from the national government. Figures do not lie. This is an epitome of the national banking system. At the end of twenty years the banker has received from government eighty thousand dollars interest on a ten thousand dollar loan—40 per cent per annum. Every four per cent bond held as the basis of national banking, pays the banker forty per cent per annum, while his bank charter lasts, every five per cent, fifty, and every six per cent, sixty, for one hundred thousand dollars in bonds costs him only ten thousand dollars—the ninety per cent tax-paying, debt-paying money returned being practically a free gift to the banker from the government. To lend the banker, (or any man,) money for twenty years without interest is, in effect, to make him a present of the money, to say nothing of the bankers having his loan renewed by getting his bank "rechartered" at the end of the twenty years, which he confidently expects to do, and certainly will do, if the people do not again take control of the government and prevent it, as they did when they elected old "hickory" Jackson, of blessed memory, President. Truly the national banking system gives the capitalists an unlimited power over the people, of taxation and extortion—a power greater than our government itself possesses. that, in theory, cannot tax the people without their consent (though in practice it often does.)

These corporations are the absolute masters of the American people to-day. O that we could say in reverent tones, awakening a slumbering nation: *They*

*shall not be so to-morrow!* They can bankrupt and make a tramp of every business man in the United States in thirty days; and they will do it whenever they deem it to their interest. They threaten it now, if not obeyed by the recreant old-party leaders, who are, at this moment, in greater terror of the banks than the Czar is of the Nihilists. Let the national banks suddenly retire their circulation 200 million dollars, as they have threatened to do, if not obeyed by the government, and ruin will sweep through this land, devouring all business as the flames devoured Chicago. Public indignation, rising to sublime intensity as it did in the North when Beauregard opened fire on Sumter, would bury the rotten leaders out of sight. Our country to-day is Prometheus, "Chained to the cold rocks of Mount Caucasus;" the national banking corporations are

"The Vulture at his vitals;"

corrupt party leaders, Vulcan, who forged the chains that bind our country. The "links of the lame Lemnean" are indeed "festering" in her flesh!

If the laws would only declare farmers' notes without interest secured by first mortgage on productive lands (the notes covering, say ninety per cent legal valuation of taxable land, the same per cent of credit as is allowed capitalists on non-taxable bonds) "receivable at par in all parts of the United States in payment of all taxes and excises and all other dues to the United States, except duties on imports, and also for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States to individuals, corporations and associations within the United States, except interest on public debt," how soon would the farmers be free from the burden of usury? These notes being thus "monetized" by the endorsement of the general government and put afloat by the farmers in all parts of the Union most distant from the homes of the persons issuing them (as bank notes are) they would never come back to the farmers for redemption any more than bank notes come back to the bankers for redemption. Let them float for twenty years the same as bank notes; then at the end of that time "recharter" them to float without interest or redemption for a second twenty years, and then again for a third, and so on *ad infinitum* the same as bankers propose for their currency, as will be presently shown. Then might we sing.

"The independent farmer!" The farmer would be king. He ought to be. Agriculture should be fostered by legislation. It is the supreme interest. But, it appears that the farmers, in this rich and productive country, have become the abject slaves of gold monopolists of the old world, reduced to this condition by the financial policy of our government, foreign bond owners dictating the

laws—British oligarchy governing America.

But President Garfield asks Congress to do something for the farmers of our country. "The interests of agriculture" he says in his inaugural address, "deserves more attention from government than they have yet received. The farms of the United States afford homes and employment for more than one-half our people and furnish much the largest part of all our exports. As the government lights our coasts for the protection of mariners and the benefit of our commerce, so it should give to the tillers of the soil the *lights of practical science and experience*." Money is of supreme interest to American farmers as well as to foreign owners of American bonds. Give our farmers the same benefits of financial legislation as are given by our government to the British owners of our bonds, (or a tithe of those benefits) and our farmers could then hold their grain, pork and beef in spite of European combinations, and America could set her own prices on her own products. Europe would be compelled to get down on her knees to us, since the old world must have these products or starve. The new must feed the old, worn-out world. Which ought to be king, bread or gold? Which is of greater importance to mankind? When we need gold it hides, as during our war. When we do not need it 'tis forced on us, as to-day. Ought gold fix the price of bread, or bread fix the price of gold? Let gold fix the price of bread, we are slaves. Let bread fix the price of gold, we are freemen.

Right here lies the heart of the issue between hard money and soft—between gold and greenbacks. The man that stands over me and says what I shall have and must accept for my products and my work is my master and I his slave. America is the slave of England because of specie basis. Gold means our enslavement; greenbacks our freedom and independence. With legal-tender paper money filling all the channels of business here, Europe has nothing that America is obliged to buy. This accounts for the great interest John Bull takes in American monetary affairs. The greenback is our second Declaration of Independence. Let us defend and perpetuate it with "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" if need be. "Independence now; independence forever," being the sentiment of every true patriot heart as it was the "living sentiment and the dying sentiment of John Adams. If the old world were to sink under the sea a thousand fathoms deep it would not make a ripple on the placid ocean of our prosperity *if we cut loose from gold*. We can live and prosper conquering a gigantic rebellion while gold hides its infamous head.

But for government to legislate value right out of our lands, labor and prod-

ucts and legislate that value right into British gold, right out of everything we do possess and right into the very thing (gold) we do not possess, and even threatening, at the same time to destroy the Lincoln greenback, the savior of our nation's life, the source of our prosperity, "a present help in every time of need," and then buying gold bullion of the foreigner with interest-bearing bonds and returning to the bondowner, gratis, ninety per cent of the face value of these bonds in tax-paying, debt-paying "money better than gold itself, because more convenient, and making gold the measure of all values" here—is not this getting down voluntarily on our knees to Europe? Who is the Benedict Arnold that has thus surrendered our country to the foreign enemy? British capitalists cornering the gold and controlling the amount of money in our country, both specie and paper, do now even today, fix the prices of our products, lands and labor, holding us as dependents and slaves. Is any man so blinded by party spirit he does not see this? Can any man fail to see that all the millions of dollars paid by the people of this country to money lenders for interest would be saved to the American producers if the government gave the same favorable endorsement to well-secured, non interest-bearing notes of farmers, manufacturers, merchants, mechanics and laborers as it does to the non-interest bearing notes of bond-owners? Bank notes (so called) perform the functions of money; so would these as well under a system that could be made plain and practical in a bill not half so long and intricate as the national bank act—which was made so on purpose, no doubt, to deceive the people whom it was designed to defraud and rob.

Bank bills are recognized as "money" by the laws—then they are given as a bonus to bond-owners for twenty years—the length of time their bank charters last. At the expiration of the first twenty years, if the bond-owners still control the government as they do now, the charters will be renewed for another period of twenty years and, at the end of that time, again for another period of twenty years, and thus on and on *in perpetuo*, a debt without interest never to be paid as long as foreign bullion owners and national bankers control our government and the national banking law remains unrepealed—stolen property to be held until the people recover it from the thieves.

Besides the 350 million dollar steal, the national bankers have received from our government in interest on the 400 million dollars bonds, the "basis" of the banking fraud, 20 million dollars per annum, amounting in twenty years to 400 million dollars, a sum that would have been saved to American producers,

if the bonds had been "cut up into little bits of paper" and put afloat as greenbacks. Not only would the 400 million dollars interest have been thus saved, but the 400 million dollars bonded debt, also, floating among our people as greenbacks would have been a perpetual blessing—not a debt to be paid, but an instrument to promote the prosperity of our country forever.

The American people have lost then in twenty years through the national banking swindle

Interest on 5 pr. ct. bonds, \$400,000,000	
Bonds.....	400,000,000
Paper money gratuity.....	350,000,000

Total.....\$1,150,000,000

All this vast sum has been worse than thrown away—enriching as it does the few, increasing their power to oppress the people and corrupt the officials of government and impoverishing the many innocent victims.

Let us look at the loss already figured in round numbers far below the aggregate as the figures before given do not include the 28 million dollars annual interest paid by the people to the banks for the privilege of using bank notes as money. The figures should show:

Bonus paid on gold deposit fraud.....	\$ 210,000,000
Bonds for said sham...	175,000,000
Silver swindle to displace fraction paper currency for 20 years.....	175,000,000
National bank swindle,	1,150,000,000
Add 20 years int. paid for bank notes 3 pr. ct.	560,000,000

Gives total.....\$2,270,000,000

But the national banks made not less than forty per cent profit in purchasing the bonds at a discount with depreciated greenbacks in the beginning. Forty per cent of four hundred million dollars equals 160 million dollars. Thus have the people of the United States been gulled out of 2,430 million dollars, a sum vastly larger than the indemnity levied by Germany upon France at the close of the Franco-Prussian war (and these figures show but a tithe of the loss to our industries already, by this baneful foreign system of finance), robbed of the vast amount by the European Rothschilds and their agents, the national banking syndicates that hold their annual congress at Saratogo, New York, the United States government enforcing their robber decrees.

Do not the national bankers pay taxes? Not a tithe of what producers pay—not a hundredth part of what is given them as a gratuity by the government do the national bankers ever return to the federal treasury. "One per cent of their issue" pays not the printing of their bills and bonds—costing the national banker not so much to issue

his notes as money as it does a counterfeit to print counterfeit bills.

If national banking is so profitable why do private banks exist?

Because private banking has some advantages over national banking for men of moderate capital:

1st. The private banker has the lone and sole management of his business.

2d. The private banker has the benefit of all deposits, discounts, etc., and has not to share profits with associates in business as in national banking, where "the big fish eat up the little fish."

When a national bank breaks is it not compelled to redeem its notes? If finally for any cause a national bank is compelled to surrender its charter (these banks never do or can break unless in stock gambling or other outside speculations foreign to the banking business,) the government redeems the outstanding bank notes in gold bought of John Bull with interest-bearing bonds, thus making our bond system perpetual, and repays the bank every dollar it has ever really paid for the bond—ten per cent of its face value. When banks "retire their circulation" they only exchange with the government paper money for gold paid finally on the bond. In short the national banking system is the climax of fraud and wrong, the fruitful source of corruption and betrayal of public trusts. The national bank and railroad corporations now control two branches of the federal government—the legislative and executive. The judicial branch of the government will be a pliant tool in their hands before 1884; for the new judges will be of their choosing—e. g.—*Stanley Mathews*.

### III. BOND-AND-NOTE-AND-MORTGAGE-INFLATION-FRAUD.

The people are taught by the capitalists through the bought-up newspaper press, that "an inflation of greenbacks is a great evil." On the contrary, the exact truth is, such an inflation operates as a bankrupt law to free the multitude of laborers and producing men from debt—a great public blessing. But there is, indeed, an inflation that is a woeful curse to our country—an inflation of bonds, notes and mortgages in the pockets of money-lenders. Such an inflation has unfortunately fallen upon our fair land to-day—a blight upon all legitimate business—the death and destruction of all prosperity—a sweeping confiscation of the property of the many and its seizure by the few.

Money may be made so plentiful (if issued by the government to the people in general as is now done to bondowners in particular) as to put all laboring and producing men practically out of debt, or it may be so contracted as to throw all this class hopelessly into debt. The rule will work both ways. We have seen

its workings. Time was when money was abundant. Then agriculture and labor and production of all kinds was profitable. Then the laborer could, in a little while, from the profits of his labor pay for a comfortable home. But there came a change, with contraction and resumption, and an odious inflation of notes and mortgages took place. Prosperity now poured in upon money-lenders and adversity overwhelmed laborers and producing men. The tramp was hatched out. Laws became oppressive and men were imprisoned for no crime but that of asking a crust of bread. A standing army of eleven thousand troops—nine regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and one of artillery was enlisted for five years in Iowa. What for? To hasten the period of "stronger government," the foreclosure of mortgages and the transfer of the landed property from the hands of the many into the hands of the few—from the people to the money-lenders.

When the greenbacks are "inflated" the people make large profits from agriculture—one or two crops often paying for a good farm—they make large profits from all sorts of productive labor. When greenbacks are contracted and bank bills, bonds, notes and mortgages are inflated, the profits that before flowed to the producers and laborers now flow into the coffers of the money-lenders. All that labor has accumulated the money-lenders seize upon and pocket. It is only a question as to which kind of inflation shall prevail—inflation of money in the pockets of the people or inflation of evidences of debt against the people in the pockets of usurers? Withdraw the money and the people are overburdened with debt. Says Mr. Jones, in his excellent book, "Money is Power:" "The effort of credit to fill the vacuum caused by the retirement of 1,000 million dollars from the business world, explains the mystery of the burden of debt which has pressed so hard upon the country." Under an inflation of nearly 2,000 million dollars of currency in the pockets of the many at the close of the war, the people rejoiced; now, under a tremendous inflation of 26,000 million dollars bonds, notes and mortgages against the production of the United States in the pockets of the few, the people mourn. This estimate agrees with the statement presented in the work above named:

National debt.....	\$ 2,000,000,000
State, municipal and railroad.....	4,000,000,000
Debts of 630,000 traders, manufacturers estimated by the monetary commission.....	13,000,000,000
Banks, mining and other companies.....	7,000,000,000
Total.....	\$26,000,000,000

Interest at only five per cent becomes an annual drain on our country's production of 1,300 million dollars, and at eight per cent of 2,080 million dollars, requiring the labor of ten million of men at seventeen dollars and thirty-three and one-third cents per month, working all the time, from the beginning of the year to the end, in sunshine and storm, to pay it—the labor of all the voters of the United States! If saved to our workers, language would fail to express the happiness it would bring them; but robbed of it, what misery, murders, suicides, and untold horrors are left in its stead!

Contraction of the currency at the dictation and command of foreign bullionists brought upon us this immense load of debt. The overthrow of the national banking system—the wiping out of the bond swindle—the complete demonetization of both gold and silver—and the devotion of American law-makers to the interests of their own country and countrymen as they are now devoted to the interests of foreign bullionists, would insure a supply of "lawful money" (greenbacks) that would free us from burden. Bankers and money-lenders do not object to "inflation" if it means bonds, notes, mortgages and even "money" in their pockets. They only object to inflation in the pockets of the people. They feel precisely the same interest in the people that wolves do in sheep.

In a late number of the *New York Herald* it is proclaimed that "an inflation of real money is as injurious as of sham money". And Blanqui in his "History of Political Economy" shows (chap. 25) that the influx of gold into Europe after the discovery of America, had the same effect to increase prices that we here observed to result from an "inflation" of national scrip. He says: "It was difficult to explain how provisions and other commodities could thus have increased in price, since they were neither more scarce nor more in demand. The same quantity of grain exchanged at all times for a cow or a certain number of sheep; but when it was necessary to measure the commodities by means of money, the proportions were no longer the same; the buyer complained of being obliged to give more money, forgetting that when he became a seller he also received more." But bond-owners do not object to an inflation of bank bills. How many millions of dollars have been added to bank note circulation since 1879! Money must flow out to the people through the channels of the banks and loan agencies, not to be "injurious" in the estimation of money lenders. Any amount of money among the people, got afloat on first mortgage loans, bringing large interest to the lenders and enslaving the borrowers, is 'healthful.' Otherwise any sort of money

in the pockets of the people is "bad." Let the people be prostrate at the feet of the money power—as dependent on usurers for money as a sucking calf is upon its dam for milk, and all is satisfactory to the enemy in his war against greenbacks and labor.

The only meaning of the finance question then is: Who shall govern America—the Rothschilds and their agents, or the American people? If the people do not control the paramount interest of finance they do not control the government. We cannot say ours is a government of the people, if the most important public interest is under the management and control of an irresponsible few. Let us cease to depend on the few for money, and the many may hold and control what they produce by labor. Demonetize gold and silver and let legal tender paper flow out to the people, through the government of the people, and we have the highest blessing that can be secured—*independence*.

Who should have the direction of the financial affairs of a farm, the owner of the farm or the irresponsible hired hand? Uncle Sam purposes controlling and directing in every respect the finances of his big farm. The banks are doing practically the work of most important public officials in issuing and controlling the volume of the nation's currency—a most vital trust, and without being in any way responsible to the public. They are only responsible to the bullion-owners of the Old World. Whoever dictates the financial legislation of a people is practically autocrat of that people. It is through their financial policy alone that nations are enslaved—and the end of all enslavement is financial—the obtaining the products of labor without giving the producers an equivalent—"wrenching from the hard hands of peasants" the fruits of their sweat and toil by force or by fraud. It is fraud we have to deal with now; but force is threatened and is not far off—if the people by vigorous thinking, disinterested, acting for the public weal and independent voting, do not hurl tyrant capital from his throne and crown labor king. Everlasting chains and slavery are in reserve for the people of the United States—labor mangled, crushed, bleeding and torn—unless the engine that is now plunging rapidly on toward this frightful Ashtabula is immediately reversed. Plainly then the question is: "Shall the people control this government for the greatest good of the greatest number, or shall the money-lenders control it and use it as an engine of robbery and oppression of the masses—establishing on the ruins of the republic a stronger government of money and bayonets?"

This momentous political crisis is forced upon us by the money power (stronger than the slave power of old)

involving all that was at issue in the revolutionary struggle—the independence of America and the welfare of the toiling millions for many decades, and even centuries to come. Let us know no North, no South, no East, no West, but one united commonwealth, the toilers of all sections, of every color and

race, our beloved countrymen, and stand once more as our fathers stood, for the “inalienable rights of man,” for the preservation of popular liberty and equality, before it is too late, before the nation has passed beyond the reach of the patriot arm to save.

## ESSAY XVIII.—A PARTING WORD.

### I. THE OUTLOOK.

MAY 30, 1890.

On the hallowed day in which the graves of our dead comrades who gave their lives for the Union and the Constitution bequeathed us by the fathers—are decorated with “beautiful flowers,” I add a parting word to this collection of patriotic reflections. What is the outlook? It is hopeful. Not because Congress and the courts are loyal to the principles of popular liberty; for they are not. At present they side with the “creditor class.” “We have not representation from the people strong enough to overcome this creditor influence”—says that fearless patriot, R. P. Clarkson, in the *Daily Iowa State Register* of May 29, 1890. “Every secretary of the treasury,” he continues “of both parties is in sympathy with the creditor classes, and is likely to be. The industries of the country \* \* \* are handicapped by this baleful creditor influence perpetually.” “The cause of the mischief,” he further says, “is thoroughly organized creditors, who look carefully after the doings of Congress; and unorganized complainers on the peoples’ side. Great Britain is the world’s creditor and ours. It is remarkable how much influence that country has in forming the public opinion of our people in the commercial centers of the east with regard to all our policies. British agents are active through our press and through social influence at the capitol.”

As an instance of the omnipotent force of British influence even with our Supreme Court, the late decision in regard to the importation of alcoholic and malt liquors in “original packages” into prohibition states, may be mentioned. British capitalists have purchased most of the distilleries and breweries of the United States, investing in the last twelve months, in their purchase, hundreds of millions of dollars. These new emigrants from the “mother country,” by the grace of our unpatriotic (if not corrupt) federal court, force alcoholic and malt liquors upon unwilling states of the American Union, as, at the cannon’s mouth, British traders force opium upon unwilling China. That is not law, but usurpation and tyranny. The Supreme Court has spoken at the com-

mand of the Anglo-American whisky and beer trust, nullifying our most valued and most sacred “inalienable right” of “home rule” and has exalted aliens above state laws binding against citizens.

The reason we are cursed with decisions of our highest courts outraging common-sense, is that those courts during the past twenty years have been packed with corporation tools for judges, lacking brains, learning, patriotism and integrity. Our Senate has become a house of lords that cares little for popular interests and popular rights. Our house of representatives is packed by the banking corporations with men of inferior abilities, chiefly national bankers and corporation attorneys. They do not need to want integrity when they want every other qualification of law-makers. They do not need to be “bribe takers” when they have no idea of the wants of the time—when they are fifty years behind the age in which they live—when they would attempt to break up combines by penal laws instead of assisting the people to organize a greater combination to supercede all the lesser trusts—a great public trust to swallow all the private ones and bring in universal co-operation to take the place of competition, which is now dead and buried. There are as many lovers of popular liberty to-day as ever before—as many unselfish—as true patriots—as great statesmen. These are feared by the corporations. As long as great private interests preponderate, that are antagonistic to the public welfare, so long will corporations dictate the nomination of law-makers, and as long as these control the nominating conventions, so long will mediocrity sit enthroned at Washington. The corporations and trusts do not want great men to make laws for the commonwealth. They want only subservient and submissive “tools,” and these compose the overwhelming majority now of both houses of Congress. To be sure, there are good and true men—able and patriotic—in the Senate and in the House; but they are the exception and not the rule—the minority and not the majority of both branches. The majority have no conception of popular wants and no disposition to gratify them, if they knew what ought to be done.

Western senators or western representatives are always employed to "introduce" the measures aimed to destroy western interests. When a western man is put at the head of any important department, (treasury, for instance), or movement of any kind at Washington, look out! Some scheme is ripening against the west. Watch the money power.

"Beware! She's fooling you!"

The President of the United States is always a patriot, of course—and especially so, if a western man. But how has it happened that every Secretary of the Treasury of both parties is in sympathy with the creditor classes?

Then it looks as if our country is not in a hopeful condition. But it is. Popular sentiment is rapidly crystalizing for the overthrow of the domination of the "creditor classes." The Farmers' Alliance is becoming all-powerful west and south, as was the Grange in 1871. The south is being wonderfully moved. North Carolina has hundreds of thousands of farmers united in this grand movement, led by Hon. Virgil A. Wilson. The Knights of Labor and Farmers' Alliance are preparing for independent political action in every state and territory of the Union. The signs of the times are most hopeful.

## II. THE DUTY BEFORE CONGRESS.

What will be the consequence if Congress does not define the articles protected by inter-state commerce—as dynamite, alcoholic liquors (including ale, wine and beer), infected clothing, diseased cattle, etc? The effect will be anarchy that may result in civil war between the states. Iowa and Kansas will not tolerate the invasion of Missouri and Illinois ruffians or their detestable agents flooding these states with alcoholic liquors contrary to the laws of these states, any more than in 1856 Kansas tolerated the border ruffians of Missouri in their unlawful raids. This is a most serious question, touching the hearts of the people more nearly than did the anti-slavery question. The forays of Indian savages with tomahawk and scalping knife were not more to be dreaded than the forays of the alien saloon savages from Illinois and Missouri are to be dreaded by the people of Iowa and Kansas. Both (great corn-growing states) have abolished the distilleries in their borders that consumed millions of bushels of grain—a great personal sacrifice. They will not tolerate the citizens of other states, or their agents, in Iowa or Kansas, doing what they have refused to their own citizens at great cost to themselves. The prohibition people are in earnest and will take no backward steps, but they will go forward at the sacrifice of life, if need be, for the protection of their homes and their rights against alien marauders. The constitu-

tion of the United States was ordained to "promote general welfare." When it has become a stumbling block in the path of progress, it will be set aside and a new constitution of government ordained by the people, laying its foundation in the "consent of the governed." Nothing will be permitted to stand in the way of progress and of the government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

For the Federal congress to fail to act now for the protection of the right of "home rule" in reference to the rum traffic would be a repetition of the folly of the Pierce and Buchanan administrations in giving aid and comfort to the slave power, the courts, congress and president being joined then in the conspiracy of the slave lords to make slavery national. The people believe that the only reason for hesitancy now on the part of congress to act for the common protection is the influence of the whisky ring; the immense wealth of the rum power used "where it will do the most good"—and its wealth is greater than was that of slave power.

The foundation principle of American government is the "consent of the governed." Whatever violates this principle is un-American, and intolerable to us. It was because the British government disregarded this grand doctrine that our liberty-loving fathers trampled under foot the British flag, and rebelled against British rule. They declared it the right and duty of the people to do toward "any form of government" the same as they did toward the British government when it became destructive of the rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and to establish a new government, laying its foundation in the consent of the governed. Any other foundation is tyranny. And for congress to refuse to act now for the protection of the rights of the prohibition states would be to abdicate power and establish the most detestable form of "state rights"—the right of the citizens of Illinois or Missouri, or "raw Englishmen" or their agents, to do in Iowa or Kansas what the citizens of Iowa and Kansas are forbidden by the fundamental laws of the states of Iowa and Kansas to do, *i. e.*, to distribute alcoholic liquors "for a beverage," in these states. It would be an abrogation of the federal compact—amounting to a practical dissolution of the Union. Because, if the United States government is powerless to, or will not protect the states from such form of most odious "invasion," the states will have no other alternative but to protect themselves. How may they do this? There will remain but one way, the same only that was open to the states of Greece of old, the Amphictyonic council having inadequate powers to settle differences between discordant states, and leaving them to be

settled by force of arms. If congress will not act to protect the people in their right of "home rule," if the state courts cannot and the federal government will not protect the people against border raids of this odious kind—will some lawyer point out the legal remedy—a possible peaceful settlement of the difficulty? Of course it has been settled for fifty years by the courts, federal and state, that the people of a state have the right to prohibit the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits within their confines. Must alien manufacturers have rights in Iowa that Iowa manufacturers have not? That would be contrary to all known law on earth among free people?

We are, I fear, on the eve of anarchy and civil war if congress does not protect the inalienable right of the people to self-government. When Illinois, or Nebraska, or Missouri, or Minnesota invade Iowa in this detestable way, forcing rum upon us contrary to the will of the majority expressed in law—then the invaders ought to be driven out "peacefully if we can; forcefully if we must," if we would be true to the principles of liberty and right.

I speak now of natural right—the right of home protection against alien invasion. But I believe the government and flag that has protected the people of the Indian Territory for fifty years without their asking it against the rum traffic, will protect the people of the prohibition states, since these states have so distinctly spoken, and since it has now become the prerogative of the national government to do so. If the United States government will not do this, then it is an odious tyranny, treating the prohibition states as shamefully, tyrannously and as outrageously as England treats Ireland, and deserving no more the love of the patriotic citizens of these states than does the British government that of Irishmen.

JUNE 19, 1890.

Reader, farewell. I have fearlessly tried

to do my duty to my country and humanity. I have not spoken but have given deliberate utterance to my profound convictions. Yet, of the federal senate on the sixteenth of June, 1890, has led me to believe I have under-estimated the patriotism of the majority of that body constituted. Wall and Lombard money lenders met defeat for the first time in twenty-seven years in our senate of lords." Madness seems, however, to have possessed our honored Iowa senator, Mr. Allison, the only senator from the Mississippi valley (not including Ohio valley, the home of Mr. Sherman) voting "nay" on the question of placing silver on her ancient throne. A single representative from the west and south vote "nay" when the bill came up for final passage in the lower house with the senate amendments? I do not. It is time the people west of the Alleghanies had their eyes turned from the serpent—the joint-snake broken in pieces pictured on the flag of our fathers with the motto

"UNITE OR DIE—"

as the children of Israel looked upon the brazen serpent in the wilderness is our only safety—we must unite without regard to party stand for American interests, or the wolf will soon be at every door, except the doors of the "less than fifty thousand rich men" that Rev. Joseph Cook says "if the present causes which produce concentration of capital continue, WILL SOON CONSUME THE UNITED STATES."

NOTE.—Three additional essays that belong to this "Second Division" of the Pending Causes are omitted in this edition, because they are in print in a pamphlet entitled "Money and Labor." Their titles are "Paper Money and Payment, The History, Nature and Office of Money and The Triumph of Labor,"—55 pages, price 25 cts. Address,

LEONARD BROWN,  
Polk, Iowa.

## TO HON. THOMAS MITCHELL.

Beloved friend, in all things true,  
Example of both old and new,—  
Bold pioneer, whose youthful hand  
Guided the plow to break the land,  
The wooden shield-board, ere the day  
That polished steel cut up the clay—  
How times have changed! To-day behold  
Not anything as 'twas of old!—  
What nothing do I say? Mistake;  
You're still the same,—to right awake;  
Your larch string still hangs out the same;  
Your patriotic heart of flame,  
And philanthropic soul unchanged,  
Could not from country be estranged;  
But nobly you have duty done—  
Wrapped in the flag your first born son.  
Still time speeds on. Your second boy,

Your later, cherished hope and joy,  
Sought the frontier, as you had done,  
To win the fight, as you had won,  
"Excelsior!" his battle cry.  
Resolved to gain the day or die,  
He marched our proudly to the field—  
Is borne back lifeless on his shield.  
Mysterious fate! The youthful fail!  
Reach not their prime, though strong and hale;—  
They bow before life's blinding storm—  
But you hear up erect of form;  
Seven decades kindly pass you by  
Nor bleach your hair nor dim your eye.  
Long live my friend—and sheep and kid  
Increase, and prosper thee and thine.



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